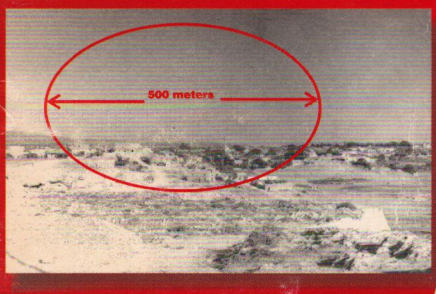
BESIEGED



Starvation will not break our will power
U Thant disgraced UN
Only Turkey can Save us from death and misery
Turkey Is Our Only
Açlıkla susuzlukla bizi dize getiremezler
1964

Venhar KESKİN

BESIEGED

Venhar KESKİN

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To the Turkish people of Ktima
who, as a family of 3,000 members,
lived hand to mouth for eleven years
and faced every difficulty to survive.

CONTENTS

- Introduction 1
- Can You Imagine What It Is Like? 3
- A Telephone Call 5
- The Background In Brief 6
  1. A short history of Cyprus
  2. The source of ENOSIS
  3. Demands for ENOSIS
  4. EOKA terror organization
  5. Republic of Cyprus
  6. About the Akritas Plan
  7. Crime of genocide
- Some Of Many Attacks 13
- The Refugee Proplem 15
- 9 March 1964 In Ktima 16
- Press Cuttings Of Those Days 18
- Pictures: Turkish Quarter In Those Days..... 64
- The Days After 9 March 89
- A Besieged Life 90
- Houses For Refugees 91
- The Only Service Given To The Turks 91
- Self-Governing State 92
- Coup Of 15 July 1974 93
- Turkey's Peace Operation 94
- 14th August 1974 97
- The Akritas Plan 101

INTRODUCTION *

I am a schoolteacher, now retired. In 1963, I was living in Ktima, in Paphos District, and teaching at the Turkish Primary School. In those days, Ktima was a mixed town with about 7,000 Greek Cypriots and 2,500 Turkish Cypriots; 90 % of the Turks lived in the Turkish quarter in the north west of the town.

I was born in Ktima. So were my parents, and their parents, and their parents' parents etc.

For 27 years now I have been living in Northern Cyprus, safe and in peace, but it is not possible for me to forget the last eleven years I spent in Ktima.

3,000 people, men, women and children, were squeezed into the small Turkish quarter, (500 metres in diameter) struggling under heavy, inhuman embargoes, fighting to survive in the face of brutal attacks by Greek Cypriots, organized in line with the notorious 'Akritas Plan' to annex Cyprus to Greece. (Attached)

Eleven years with every moment full of bitterness and fear.

Days and months waking up every morning with the same questions in our minds:

'*Where will they attack next?*'

'*How many Turks will be shot dead today?*' Eleven horrible years still alive in my memory as if it were yesterday.

I never want to go back to those days again; and it is a great torment to be living with the probability of re-living those days.

Our thanks go to Turkey who ended that tragedy forever.

Everything in Cyprus happened right in front of the eyes of the whole world. But 'the world' always acted in the same way: listened to those who committed the crime and turned a deaf ear to the people who suffered.

We have been living with Greeks for centuries now. We know their intentions, what they think of us and what they can do. Experience has decidedly proven that whenever the Greeks have found opportunity and

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* The press cuttings and official British documents used in the preparation of this book were provided by courtesy of Ahmet C. Gazioğlu, Managing Editor of CYREP (Cyprus Research & Publishing Centre), Lefkoşa.

support, they have broken every treaty and agreement they have signed and tried to get a few steps nearer their objective, ENOSIS. If strongly opposed, they rest there, with a smiling mask on their face, until another opportunity comes along. When they think the moment is opportune, they turn into monsters again.

Insisting on accepting the Greeks as the 'Government of Cyprus', no matter how mistaken the idea; working on paper for a lasting solution to the Cyprus problem, but failing to take into account Greek Cypriot Nationalism aimed at ENOSIS and derived from the 'Megali Idea'; and ignoring how dangerous it can turn out to be "*when it is mixed with religious fanaticism*", as an American Professor and expert on the Middle East put it, obviously will be the cause of greater disasters. The Turkish Cypriots will suffer again. And I am sure the world will turn a deaf ear and will be watching with unseeing eyes, as usual.

CAN YOU IMAGINE WHAT IT IS LIKE?

You are thrown out of a government in which you were a partner; you receive no governmental service; 3,000 people - men, women, and children - squeezed in a corner of a town and forced to live in squalid conditions for ELEVEN YEARS.

SURROUNDED by ARMED MURDERERS

PLUS...

You cannot go out of that place without permission.
And if you can get permission and dare to travel, you risk your life, as happened to hundreds who dared.
And you come under attack by heavy arms.
And you have many dead and wounded.
And you expect a new attack at any time.
And you get news of Turkish villages attacked, burned and destroyed, the villagers murdered, and you cannot help.
U.N. forces can only watch and report.
And you are under a heavy embargo.
You and your children need shelter, medicine, food etc.
And you can only get very little aid through the U.N. and then only when the Greeks permit them.
You are always watched by armed mobs, day and night.
And you know that everybody is a target for them.
And you can be shot at any time – while walking in the street or standing in front of your windows.
ELEVEN YEARS ..... WAKING UP EVERY MORNING, EXPECTING NEW ATTACKS, NEW KILLINGS AND SORROWS.....

CAN YOU IMAGINE SUCH A LIFE?

The outside world witnessed it all, but everything is forgotten now. The facts remain hidden amongst the pages of old newspapers.

In spide of 1974 coup if Cyprus is not a part of Greece and The Turkish Cypriots are not the victims of many more mass graves, it is because, Turkey as a guarantor power fulfilled its obligations; and its presence provides the only guaranty for preventing a new genocide.

Despite these realities, from 1974 onwards, The Greek Cypriots' main aim has been to make the world believe that the Cyprus problem

started in 1974.

Let me give you a short description of those days, which I personally lived through, and have the bitter memories still alive in my mind.

I will add the observations of some foreign newspapers of those days to refresh the memory of the world, which did nothing in those days to stop the Greeks and which is still acting as if those days had not been lived.

Still protecting the criminals.

Still punishing the Turkish Cypriots with inhuman embargos.

Still accepting the Greek Cypriots as the legal government of the whole island.

And failing to see that efforts for one-sided membership of Cyprus to the European Community is nothing but a ploy to side-step the Turks and attain ENOSIS by a different route.

We have experienced the ill faith of the Greeks, time and time again in the past, in the 1950s, in 1958, in 1963... in 1974.

There has been peace in Cyprus for 27 years now. The bitter days are hopefully far behind us.

It makes me wonder why the world is still insisting and trying to force us to risk our future and the future of our children just to see whether the Greeks will act in the same manner or not?

The whole thing is very strange.

Is this a game we are playing?

Must the game be repeated until the Turks are wiped out?

A TELEPHONE CALL

On 22 December 1963, at about 10pm, my friend Erdoğan Çakır and I went to the Turkish Union club in Ktima, where we used to go and meet other friends for a cup of coffee or tea. (Erdoğan Çakır and his younger brother Mustafa, who was one of my students, were killed in their house on 14 August 1974 by armed Greeks.)

While we were sitting there, the telephone of the club rang. I lifted the handle. It was Faik Kasapoğlu, one of our friends, now living in Northern Cyprus. He was a telephone operator, at the Telecommunications Office, and was on duty on that night.

At the time, telephone communications between the districts were not automatic. If somebody wanted to call a person in another district, he had to call the operator on duty and get connected with the number he wanted.

Faik Kasapoğlu excitedly said:

"A few minutes ago I connected a person to a certain number in Ktima. (He told me the number.) The person in Nicosia gave a command to the person in Ktima: '*We have already started, you start as well*'." I passed this conversation to my friends. We were expecting something, because the Greeks had been rather aggressive during the last few weeks. The news excited us, as well. We found a telephone directory and searched for the number. In those days, there were not too many private telephones. In ten minutes, we found the number. It belonged to Iannakis AGROTIS. He was the Greek mayor of Ktima and, at the same time, the chief of EOKA of Paphos.

This short telephone call triggered the start of the so-called 'Akritas Plan' in Ktima, and it was the beginning of eleven horrific years, not just for 3,000 Turkish people in Ktima, but for all Turkish Cypriots.

Before moving on to the days that followed this telephone call, some background information on Cyprus is necessary.

THE BACKGROUND IN BRIEF

1. A Short History of Cyprus

Cyprus became part of the Turkish Empire in 1571. At that time, the population of Cyprus was a mixture of people whose origins were in many different parts of the Eastern Mediterranean

To quote the eminent British historian, Sir George Hill:

"*At no time has the island been a constituent part of Hellenic Greece.... its church was an autocephalous member of the Holy Eastern Orthodox Church and this religion combined with language to foster the idea that Cypriots were Greek in origin.*"

(Sir George Hill, *The History of Cyprus*, Vol. IV pp. 488-9)

The first Turkish Cypriots were some Turkish soldiers (about 20,000) who settled in Cyprus in 1571.

However these first settlers did not prove to be enough to make the island prosper. Sultan Selim II ordered the deportation to Cyprus of other persons and families. So Turks from a wide variety of professional backgrounds made their way to the island. After three centuries, on 4 June 1878, the island was leased to Britain by Turkey on condition that it was to be returned to Turkey when Britain no longer wanted it.

At the beginning of World War I, Britain annexed the island.

By the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, Turkey formally accepted this annexation. Britain finally declared the island a Crown Colony on 1 May 1925.

2. The Source of ENOSIS

ENOSIS (union of Cyprus with Greece) is rooted in the 'Megali Idea' (the Great Idea). The Megali Idea aimed at the recreation of the Byzantine Empire at its apogee.

"*The millenarian expectation that a day would surely dawn when God would lift the infidel yoke from his chosen people and would restore to them the Christian Roman Empire (Byzantium) in all its majesty and splendour is of fundamental importance in understanding how the Greeks perceived their historical identity and destiny.*"

Denis Skiotis, (Professor of History, Harvard University),
Byzantina kai Metabyzantina, Vol. 1, p.158

"*The Kingdom of Greece is not Greece; it is only a part, the smallest and poorest, of Greece. A Greek is not only he who lives in the Kingdom but also he who lives in Yannia, or Thessaloniki, or Serres, or Adrianople, or Constantinople, or Trebizond, or Crete or Samos, or in whatever country is historically Greek, or whoever is of the Greek race...*"

Excerpt from a Speech in 1844, by John Kolettis,
then Prime Minister of Greece

"*Greek children at school were taught extensively their history ... ancient, medieval and modern... So, by a combination of various historical factors, state controlled education, propaganda and political demagogy, Greek nationalism and patriotism came to mean by the 1860s: pride in being a member of a Superior nation, belief in the necessity of extending the boundaries of the Greek State to include all historical Greek lands...*"

Zenon Stavrinides (Greek Cypriot Writer),
The Cyprus Conflict p. 13

The extracts given above give an idea of the danger of Greek nationalism, and how dangerous it can become '*when it is mixed with religious fanaticism.*'

The cause of the Cyprus problem is the dangerous Greek fanaticism derived from the Megali Idea, aimed at achieving ENOSIS.

They have never given up their efforts to attain this aim.

3. Demands For ENOSIS

On the first day that Cyprus was leased to Britain in 1878, demands for ENOSIS started.

Below is part of the welcome address by Kypreanos, Bishop of Kitium, to the new British High Commissioner on his arrival in Cyprus in July 1878:

"*We accept the change of government in as much as we trust that Great Britain will help Cyprus, as it did the Ionian Islands, to be united with mother Greece.*

R. Stephens, *Cyprus: A Place of Arms*, p. 70

From that day on, the demands for ENOSIS increased, supported by Greece and the Orthodox Church.

Turkish Cypriots always opposed demands for ENOSIS.

On nearly every occasion that the Greek Cypriots submitted a petition or passed a resolution for ENOSIS, the Turkish Cypriots firmly opposed it and demanded that if Britain were to give up sovereignty, Cyprus should be returned to Turkey.

So, during the British rule, the history of Cyprus consisted of two different stories:

1. The struggle by the Greeks for ENOSIS.
2. The opposition of the Turks to ENOSIS.

4. EOKA Terror Organization

In 1950 Makarios organised a referendum for ENOSIS among Greek Cypriots. With the power of the Ortodox church the vote in favour was just short of 100 percent.

As a reward for his activities he was elected Archbishop of Cyprus and Ethnarch of Greek Cypriots.

In 1954 he decided that violence was the only way to attain ENOSIS.

With the foundation of the EOKA Terror Organization in 1955, demands for ENOSIS turned violent and hundreds of British, Turkish and Greek Cypriots were murdered. Thousands of Turkish Cypriots were forced out of their villages. Their houses and furniture were burnt and destroyed.

By 1958, Turkish Cypriots had been evacuated from about 33 mixed villages to safer areas. They had lost everything and started a new life in safer areas as refugees.

The chief of EOKA was an ex-army officer of the Greek armed forces, Colonel George Grivas.

Grivas, the hated and cruel EOKA leader, had been forced to leave Cyprus under the terms of the new constitution, which decreed that he must never be allowed back. But the constitution was overthrown by Makarios and in 1964, Grivas returned to Cyprus, to take over the National Guard and continue with his murders.

On his arrival in Cyprus in July 1964, he openly proclaimed himself the missionary of ENOSIS.

"*EOKA was acting not in the name of independence, which is*

common form of colonial agitation, but in the name of ENOSIS."

Former British Prime Minister, Anthony Eden,
in an interview with the Norwegian newspaper, *Dagbladet*,
12 March 1977

5. Republic of Cyprus

As a result of Turkish opposition to ENOSIS, the Republic of Cyprus was founded in 1960, after the signing of the Zürich and London Agreements in 1959. It was a fully, independent, bi-communal state in which the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities had the status of co-founders and equal partners.

The rights of both communities were safeguarded by the constitution.

The Treaty of Guarantee between the United Kingdom, Turkey and Greece assured the independence of the state. But the partnership independence within a bi-national Republic far from satisfied the demands of the Greeks and it was only to provide a short respite before being used as a 'springboard' for ENOSIS.

"*Independence was not the aim and purpose of the EOKA struggle... Foreign factors prevented the achievement of the national goal. New bastions have been conquered and from these bastions the Greek Cypriots will march on to complete the final victory.*"

Archbishop Makarios on 16 August 1960,
the day the Republic of Cyprus was inaugurated

Makarios, who had signed the Agreements establishing the Cyprus Republic, stated:

"*The struggle of the people of Cyprus will go on. The Zurich and London agreements form a landmark in the course of this struggle, but at the same time are a starting point and bastion for further struggles with the object of capitalising on what has been achieved for further conquests.*"

President Makarios, in a speech delivered on 5 January 196

A leaflet by ANE (*Alkimos Neolaia dis EOKA*) stated:

" *His Beatitude has most certainly acted very correctly in ac*

cepting the settlement of our question by independence. This is what present day conditions give us. Our country will achieve step-by-step union with the rest of Hellenism...."

ANE (Valiant Youth of EOKA) Leaflet, 5 March 1959

"*Anyone who, in order to realise ENOSIS, is not willing to accept independence as a transitional stage, deserves to be criticised.*"

Evangelos Averoff (Foreign Minister of Greece),
speaking in the Greek Parliament on 11 March 1959

"*As the final objective remains unchanged, what must be dwelt upon is the method to be employed towards attaining that objective... We stand a good chance of success in influencing world public opinion if we base our struggle not on ENOSIS but on self-determination...*

In case of the clashes becoming widespread, we must be prepared to proceed immediately... including the immediate declaration of ENOSIS."

The Akritas Plan
(prepared for the overthrow of the Cyprus Republic)

These few samples given above (there are many more in the same vein) are clear evidence that the purpose of EOKA and political violence in Cyprus was not independence, but union with Greece and that this purpose continued after the establishment of Cyprus Republic and after the republic had been overthrown in 1964.

Now, the main purpose behind the application for European Community membership is nothing but a ploy to eliminate the Turks and attain ENOSIS through a different route.

6. About The AKRITAS Plan

After the foundation of the Republic of Cyprus, which Makarios had described as a '*Springboard for ENOSIS*', efforts towards achieving ENOSIS continued.

The Akritas Plan, which later was published by the Greek Newspaper *Patris*,* was signed by a person who identified himself only as 'The Chief - Akritas' but was in fact, Makarios's Minister of the Interior, Polikarpos Yorgadjis, the very man who was responsible for maintaining the internal peace of the Republic of Cyprus.

According to this Plan, the Turks would be presented with some proposals concerning amendments to the 1960 constitution. These amendments aimed to deprive the Turks of their fundamental rights, such as having their own municipalities and having a power of veto over governmental decisions affecting the future status of the island. Should the Turks reject these amendments, the Greeks would immediately use force and apply the amendments.

The plan worked. The Turkish Cypriot side objected to the amendments on 30 November 1963. Lt. General George Karayannis (then in command of the Cyprus National Guard) wrote in an article in the Greek newspaper '*Ethnikos Kiryx*' on 15 June 1965:

"*When the Turks objected to the amendment of the constitution, Archbishop Makarios put his plan into effect and the Greek attack began in December 1963.*"

First armed attacks started in Nicosia on 21 December 1963. Within two days, many Turks had been murdered, including 25 Turkish Cypriot patients slaughtered at Nicosia General Hospital. The telephone call I mentioned above had put the plan into effect in the Paphos area on 22 December 1963.

In the days that followed, Makarios dismissed all the Turkish Cypriot civil servants, cabinet ministers and Members of Parliament. Also, all Turkish Cypriot diplomats in foreign capitals and at the United Nations were discharged, to stop Turkish Cypriots presenting their case.

Every aspect of the Cypriot partnership state was unlawfully dismantled and Makarios declared that,

"*The constitution is dead and buried.*"

During the following days and weeks, attacks on the Turkish quarters and villages continued in increasing numbers. A correspondent described the situation as:

"*The Greeks are in a hurry to finish the job before U.N. Forces arrive.*"

---

* Text of the Akritas Plan is attached.

7. Crime of Genocide

What was planned and put into effect was a crime of genocide. It was carried out in front of the eyes of the whole world.

The United Nations Convention on the Prevention of the Crime of Genocide states:

Art. 2: In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intend to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such:

a. Killing members of the group.
b. Consigning serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group.
c. Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.
d. Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group.
e. Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Art 3: The following acts should be punishable:

a. Genocide.
b. Conspiracy to commit genocide.
c. Direct and public incitement to commit genocide.
d. Attempt to commit genocide.
e. Complicity in genocide.

There are two elements involved in the definition of the crime of genocide. The first is the commission of certain acts, and the second is the requisite state of mind defined as the '*intent to destroy in whole or in part*' a particular identifiable group.

Below is a statement made by Makarios, Archbishop of Cyprus and President of the Republic.

"*Until this small Turkish community, forming a part of the Turkish race which has been the terrible enemy of Hellenism is expelled, the duty of the heroes of EOKA can never be considered as terminated.*"

In a speech at the village of Panayia on 4 September 1962

Situation was very tense in Ktima

Let us now go back to the days after the telephone call I mentioned before.

The next day, we found that the Greeks were extremely restless and their behaviour had changed.

Turkish Government officials and policemen were threatened by armed men and ordered not to return to their jobs.

Turkish shopkeepers outside the Turkish Quarter could not go to their shops.

Then we received news of the events in Nicosia.

Shortly afterwards, roadblocks were put up by armed Greeks and so travelling stopped.

On 25 December 1963 a bomb was thrown into a Turkish café. Though it exploded outside the entrance of the cafe and there were no casualties, it was a sign of the times that would follow.

On 27 December 1963, Turks living in the mixed village at the port of Paphos were attacked by armed Greeks. They left their houses and took refuge in the Turkish quarter in Ktima. Their houses were plundered and burned down.

On 1 January 1964, the Turkish people living in Çıralı, a small village 2 miles from Ktima, were attacked by armed Greeks. One person was killed and several wounded. These people had left their village in 1958, during the EOKA campaign, but returned after the foundation of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960. For the second time, they lost everything and had to take refugee in the Turkish quarter in Ktima to save their lives.

All these people needed accommodation. They had small children and it was winter. They were placed in the school building and in shops, with a family of 5 or more people to a room; very unhealthy, but there was no alternative. Travelling was dangerous. Roads were blocked by armed Greeks and two people who left the Turkish quarter went missing.

So in the first weeks of 1964 the besieged life of 3,000 Turks in Ktima began.

The Turkish Cypriot people in the other parts of the island were facing almost the same conditions, the small villages were worse.

Day by day, the situation deteriorated.

Attacks on Turkish villages, people going missing on the roads, and the burning of the Turkish houses in evacuated villages continued

Turks living in many other mixed villages were attacked by the Greeks. They took refuge in other Turkish villages. Their houses were burned and destroyed.

Communication and travel had stopped.

Besieged Turkish quarters and villages were short of food and medicine.

All monies, salaries, wages, subsidies, social insurance and other benefits due to the Turks were withheld and the whole community was thrust into a vacuum.

For eleven years, the Greek Cypriot leaders masquerading as 'the Government' subjected the Turkish Cypriots to every form of pressure and the world simply looked on.

What was planned and put into effect was a deliberate 'crime of genocide'. It was carried out in front of the eyes of the whole world. Yet the world is acting as if those years (1963-1974) had never happened, still protecting criminals and still punishing the Turkish Cypriots who suffered, still not having the courage to do the right thing.

Attacks on Turkish villages, on the Turkish quarters were continuing all over the island.

On 13 February, they launched a heavy attack on the Turkish Quarter in Limassol.

On 14 February, the Greeks attacked the Turks living in the Mescit area, another small Turkish quarter in Ktima. They used an armoured bulldozer, supported by heavy guns.

A few Turkish fighters defended themselves and managed to lead about 150 women and children safely to the main Turkish quarter.

Two old men were shot dead and there were some wounded as well.

A number of young Turkish Cypriots who could not leave the building where they had sheltered were taken by armed Greeks and are still missing.

It was interesting to note that as soon as the Turks left their houses, their household effects and properties were plundered and carried away in cars and houses were destroyed.

With so many refugees, the Turkish quarter was so crowded that life became even more difficult that it had been.

The Refugee Problem

The refugee problem is not a new experience for the Turkish community.

It first began in 1958, when armed attacks by EOKA terrorists forced hundreds of Turkish Cypriots out of mixed villages.

In 1963, 103 Turkish villages were attacked and devastated rendering about 25,000 Turks homeless within a few weeks.

Homes, household effects, shops, orchards and farms belonging to Turkish Cypriots in the 103 villages were destroyed by their Greek neighbours.

The U.N. Secretary-General U Thant recorded the following in his Report No S/8286 of 8 December 1967.

"*When the disturbances broke out in December, 1963 and continued in the first part of 1964, thousands of Turkish Cypriots fled from their homes, taking with them only what could drive or carry and sought refuge in what they considered to be safer villages or areas.*"

On 20 July 1974, the Turkish Community was faced with a refugee problem for the third time, as a result of the general armed onslaught against us.

9 MARCH 1964 in KTIMA

All the Turkish villages and Turkish quarters in towns were surrounded by armed Greeks. Because of road-blocks, Turks could not travel, but the Greeks were free to go anywhere, gather forces, and attack at will, small Turkish villages which could not get any help.

In January and February, 1964 the Greeks launched attacks in Nicosia, Limassol and other areas.

On 9 March 1964 at 5.30 in the morning, the Greeks mounted a very heavy attack on the small Turkish quarter in Ktima. Thousands of bullets and mortars were flying about. I am not exaggerating; I saw flying birds shot dead.

The bullets and mortars were raining over the Turkish quarter. The women, children and old people were terrified, imprisoned in their houses. There were many wounded. Children were crying, women were screaming. It was a terrible, terrible day.

There were British soldiers in Ktima acting as Peace Keeping Force. They were patrolling in armoured cars along the green – line. But during the attack they were shut in their armoured cars to save their own lives.

The fighting continued all day long, supported by soldiers from Greece. They attempted to enter into the Turkish quarter with armoured bulldozers.

A few Turkish fighters, risking their lives, went near one of the bulldozers and stopped it by throwing explosives under it. After this, the other two bulldozers retreated. Every house was under fire. Mortars were falling everywhere. Had the Greeks managed to enter into the Turkish quarter, there would have been carnage - the end of 3,000 Turks.

The Greeks refused every cease-fire appeal by the UN. They also refused permission to evacuate the women and children.

3,000 Turks were fighting for their lives. Efforts continued through the night and the next day.

Turkey prepared to intervene...

After an agreement on the third day, the fighting stopped.

There were many wounded people. One doctor, one dentist and a few nurses were trying their best to treat them with the available medicine and equipment.

An old man was wounded in the arm. The doctor decided that his

arm had to be amputated but there were not the necessary equipment. He used an ordinary carpenter's saw, boiled it in a big pot and cut the arm off.

Eleven people, including one old man and a 12 year-old boy were captured by the Greeks. Their dead bodies were returned by British soldiers. They had been so cruelly killed by axe-like tools that some of them were hardly identifiable. (see p.45)

After a cease-fire agreement, the fighting stopped. But the besieged life of the 3,000 Turks continued under more difficult conditions.

The Turkish quarter was shattered.

Ever watched your house burn ?

Daily Mirror

SANDYS SEES TURKS' HOMES BURN

EVER WATCHED YOUR HOME BURN?

Thirty-five Turkish hostages taken from the village of Lapithios by the Greeks have been returned. A British military spokesman said that the bodies of five Turks were found in the village. All had died from rifle shots.

Daily Herald

British families in Cyprus siege

I WATCH A MASSACRE

British troops pinned down

CYPRUS is fast reaching its gravest hour.

There are signs that the bloodiest massacre ever is being prepared—that the Greek Cypriots have decided to throw all caution to the winds.

Desperate

3,000 Turks fight for their lives

DAILY SKETCH

CYPRUS 300 die as troops fly in...

TURKS SEND SOS 'A MASSACRE'

Since Saturday the Greeks have cut off all water and electricity to the Turkish quarter, but medical supplies and food from the Red Crescent are being flown in by a British helicopter. The Greek security forces outnumber the Turkish fighters by perhaps ten to one, and they are better armed and trained.

DAILY SKETCH

The man who can't be trusted

Daily Herald

Sandys accusations shock Commons

GUN-RUNNER MAKARIOS

THE GUARDIAN

Tuesday March 10 1964

Besieged Turks given an ultimatum

Makarios rejects peace plan'

Evening Standard

Greeks besiege Turkish quarter of Limassol —they attack with bulldozer and tank

CYPRUS: 50 DIE

Some headings from the newspapers of those days.
Can give an idea of what was happening?

Inward Telegram to Commonwealth Relations Office

ARCHIVES
23 DEC 1963
C1015/278

FROM: NICOSIA
REPEATED: ATHENS
ANKARA
H.Q. BRITISH FORCES CYPRUS

D: Nicosia 13.20 hours 21st December 1963
R: 11.50 hours 21st December 1963

CYPHER

EMERGENCY

No. 1014 SECRET

3. Situation in Nicosia described in my telegram No. 1011 took further turn for the worse at about 10.30 a.m. today with shooting by police of two Turkish Lycie youths while standing with friends in front of Lycie. Kutchuk has appealed to his community to keep calm and has arranged to call on Makarios to request appointment of Commission of enquiry.

Akritas Plan had been started

OBSERVER

Sunday, December 22, 1963

Police 'fire on schoolboys'

Police 'fire on schoolboys'

SECRET

RECORD OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY GENERAL, MR. ROBERT KENNEDY, AT CHEQUERS AT 2.30 P.M. ON SUNDAY, JANUARY 26, 1964.

Present:

The Prime Minister
The Rt. Hon. Sir Alec Douglas-Home, K.T., M.P.

Foreign Secretary
The Rt. Hon. R.A. Butler, ~~C.H.~~, M.P.

Commonwealth Secretary
The Rt. Hon. Duncan Sandys, M.P.

Minister of Defence
The Rt. Hon. Peter Thorneycroft, M.P.

Lord Carrington

Mr. Wright

Mr. Robert Kennedy

Mr. David Bruce

Mr. Michael Forrestal

Cyprus

After welcoming Mr. Kennedy, the Prime Minister invited the Commonwealth Secretary to describe the Cyprus situation.

Mr. Sandys said that British forces had gone into Cyprus because they were the closest fire brigade available. If they had not done so, there would probably have been a massacre of the Turkish Cypriots, Turkish troops would then have come in from the mainland to protect the Turkish minority on the island and there would have been a war between Greece and Turkey before we knew where we were. At present there were 2,500 British troops engaged in a police operation; there were also several hundred Greek and Turkish troops but these were a liability rather than an asset.

At present, the situation was just about in hand.

D: Nicosia 13.30 hours on 25th December 1963
R: 12.02 hours on 25th December 1963

RECEIVED IN ARCHIVES 13
30 DEC 1963
C1015/328(3)

CYPHER

SECRET

EMERGENCY

No. 1051

Addressed Commonwealth Relations Office No.1051 repeated Athens No.221 Ankara No.209 Washington No.57 Headquarters British Forces Cyprus No.87 (C.R.O. please pass Athens, Ankara and Washington).

From Cleary.

C1015/328

Your telegram No.1042.

C1015/329

Following are my comments on Ankara No.1393.

Firing continues and it is evident that joint appeals to Makarios and Kutchuk and tripartite statement (which had been communicated to Makarios) have had no effect. There is no doubt that Greeks are conducting planned attack on Turks in Walled City. Orek, in small hours of this morning, gave me circumstantial reports of massacres of Turks (women and children) in two areas. Bodies are being left to rot and Kutchuk fears epidemic. Water has been cut off and medical supplies running out. But Ozkal collected some medicaments last night from airplane from Ankara. Bodies of three Turks killed on Monday still lie in

Every thing was in accord with the Akritas Plan

On 25 the December 1963 they wrote:

"No doubt that the Greek are conducting planned attacks on Turks"

On 4th March 1964 they voted for the Greeks,

so that the atacks continued...

The Turkish people suffered and are still suffering.

SECRET

Inward Telegram to Commonwealth Relations Office

FROM: NICOSIA

D: NICOSIA 19.55 hours 12th January, 1964
R: 19.55 hours 12th January, 1964

CYPHER
IMMEDIATE

No. 162 SECRET

Your telegram No. 256

CYPRUS

Although I am reluctant to do so on basis of such limited experience I give my impressions based on views of my staff and of military on present dangers in Cyprus.

2. Intelligence assessment is in (64-1(final) (Cyprus) conclusions which are summarised in my telegram No. 154.

3. Shooting has stopped, road blocks have been largely removed and Greeks and Turks are sitting down together but only when we are present to discuss practical arrangements. Situation remains tense, people are not moving about in Nicosia and the Turks are setting up with aid of Turkish Government separate police post office, welfare, and other services. They are concentrating their people as far as they can. Their communications are difficult. They claim that Turkish minorities in villages have either been ejected or are confined to their houses. In all practical matters-tracing missing persons, feeding refugees, return of people to their homes - we come up against difficulty that the Turks do not accept the existence of a Cyprus Government, nor can the Greeks accept a de facto separate Turkish administration. Crucial problem is police. The Greek police are led by Extremists who provoked the fighting and deliberately engaged in atrocities. They have recruited into their ranks as special constables, fun happy young thugs. They threaten to try and punish any Turkish police who wish to return to Cyprus Government. Turkish police

6. Archbishop assured Sir Arthur Clark that there will be no attack. His assurance is as worthless as previous assurances have proved. This anachronistic byzantine prelate is a danger in the modern world because he miscalculates as well as misleads.

The last paragraph is very interesting..
The man who had been described as:
"ANACHRONISTIC BYZANTINE PRELATE"
and as "A DANGER IN MODERN WORLD"
(after a short time) was accepted as the head of whole Cyprus!!!

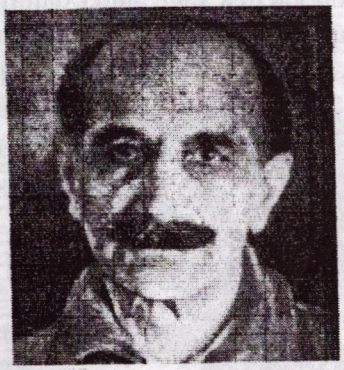
DAILY MIRROR 20.5.64
Grenades—and a Man of God
THE Man of God inspecting an "assembly line" of hand-grenades is bearded President Makarios, the power-hungry prelate who rules Cyprus

Their style: TERRORIZM.. From 1955 to 74

On the news that Turkey would intervene to save the Turkish people...
Makarios had stated: "If they come, they will not find any Turk to save."

6 DAILY SKETCH, Monday, April 13, 1964

★★★



Once £10,000 on his head.

THE MAN WE SHOULD HAVE HANGED

Late-night analysis, as it looks as though he'll be back

—by LOUIS KIRBY

HIS field boots and his beige beret embroidered in blue and white EOKA letters lie in state like saintly relics in a Nicosia museum.

lasting two and a half hours at the General's suburban home in Athens, the weary Makarios requested his Minister of the Interior, spatchcocked, put

which Makarios is nowadays notably lukewarm—makes it certain that should he bid for political power, the Palace is his for the taking.

relied upon to wipe it out, no matter how many lives are lost and no matter how many UN men are on hand to talk about

the terror wave against the British.

This time, of course, he will be pitting his wits against a force which has the approval of the free world and up to now—however grudgingly—of Makarios, too.

Elusive

GRIVAS; The hated chief of the EOKA TERROR ORGANISATION Hundreds of British, Greeks and Turks were murdered by THE EOKA Terrorists between 1955-1958

We were separated in 1963

The New York Times

COMBATANTS SEPARATED: British troops manned a truce zone (heavy line) through the heart of Nicosia to keep peace between Turkish Cypriotes north of the line and the Greek Cypriote quarter in the capital's south.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 31, 196

Outward Telegram from Commonwealth Relations Office

TO: NICOSIA

(Sent 00.25 hours 30th December 1963)

PRIME MINISTER'S

CYPHER

PERSONAL TELEGRAM

IMMEDIATE

SERIAL No. T 74/63

TONGSOG No. 295 SECRET

Personal for Commonwealth Secretary
From Prime Minister, Nicosia.

Thank you for your first message.
I have no doubt whatever that the British presence is all that has prevented bloody civil war which would have spread to Greece and Turkey. Please thank High Commissioner and General Young for their skill and tact. I confess I await your further message with anxiety as from your report of the hatred which is rife it seems unthinkable that the present Constitution will survive as that it could be amended in a way which would ensure a peaceful future.

It looks horribly like partition in the end. But I will await your further thoughts and recommendations before forming any view.

I trust that our troops will continue to be welcome to both sides but should this situation deteriorate you have my authority to withdraw them to base if you think fit.

The very best of luck. We are grateful for all you are doing in a most difficult and taxing circumstance.

Signed. Alec Douglas-Home

Prime Minister's Personal Minute No. M.440/63.

COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY

Cyprus

I have been thinking about the future of Cyprus and our role there. It looks to me as though the present Constitution is proving unworkable. It is just possible that Makarios is so frightened that he will agree to work the Constitution as it is but I doubt it. The Turks cannot agree to change because any alteration would put their minority at a disadvantage.

It seems likely then that any Constitutional Conference will end in deadlock and that the only possible solution will be partition.

If things turn out that way there will be no need for Guarantors and our presence in the Island for any reason other than our own military convenience would be superfluous.

The Prime Minister of Gt. Britain (in a secret document):
"...THE ONLY POSSIBLE SOLUTION WILL BE PARTITION"
"IT LOOKS HORRIBLY LIKE PARTITION IN THE END"

What else can give security of life to the Turkish people in Cyprus.

TELEGRAPH AND MORNING POST

January 16, 1964

FUTURE OF CYPRUS

ALL parties to the Cyprus conference are agreed on one thing, and on this alone—that the settlement they devised or accepted in 1960 has

If it has to be acknowledged that Greek and Turkish Cypriots cannot unite as a single nation, the sooner they are separated into two, the better. Britain, as Mr. SANDYS reiterated yesterday, cannot go on indefinitely acting as a policeman in Cyprus. Partition and resettlement of populations, though complex and costly, is not an impossible operation. This granted, would it not be simpler and safer to divide Cyprus not between two sovereign communities, but between Greece and Turkey, to which they owe respective allegiance? Two mature nations, allied with each other and with ourselves, would surely be better neighbours, and provide sounder assurance for the British bases, than rival Cypriot sovereignties.

with irreconcilable demands which it would be foolish to regard as mere bargaining postures. No durable success could be hoped from any attempt by the guaranteeing Powers to persuade the Cypriot delegates to a compromise which would be contested by instransigents of both sides.

Daily Telegraph Editorial:
"THE SOONER THEY (Greek and Turkish Cypriots) ARE SEPARATED THE BETTER"
ABSOLUTELY CORRECT! WHY INSIST TODAY, AFTER 34 YEARS THAT THEY SHOULD BE UNITED? GIVE ONE GOOD REASON.

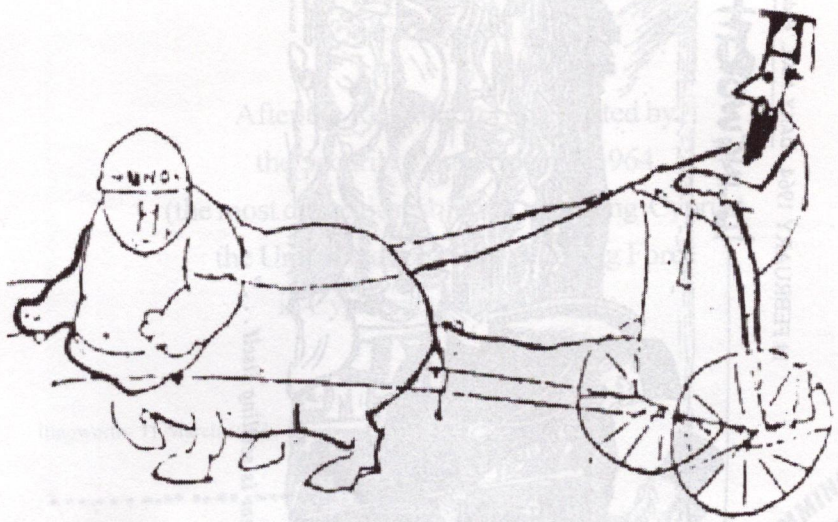
Resolution 186

After the Resolution 186 adopted by
the Security Council on 4.3.1964
(the most dramatic resolution regarding Cyprus)
the United Nations Peacekeeping Force
in Cyprus acted accordingly...

llingworth- 11 March 1964

They i... Do stop crying—you bright, sick spoiling my aim."

After about 40 years now,
the world is insisting on making the same mistake,
accepting Greeks as the legal Goverment.
As far as they are concerned Turks do not matter.



Flora in *Die Zeit*

"The Security Council resolution became a political wild card in Makarios's hands."

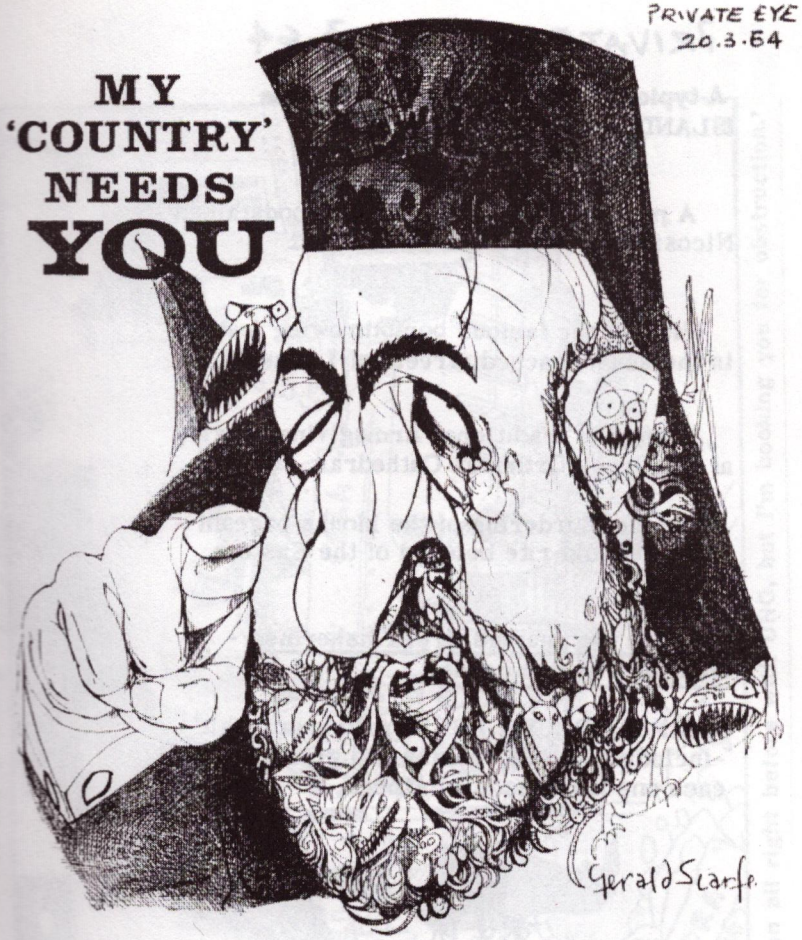
(Joseph)

"The Greek Cypriot Government -which is internationally recognised as the only legitimete authority on Cyprus- succeeded in gaining a dominant supremacy in the international political and diplomatic scene."

(Joseph)

PRIVATE EYE
20.3.64

MY 'COUNTRY' NEEDS YOU



A message from his Wiliness Archbishop Makarios*

Come to sunny Cyprus, island of Aphrodite, and help to make it sunnier.

With your help I guarantee to rid this island IN A MATTER OF MONTHS of the Turkish menace.

Come to sunny Cyprus and become a member of my special 'Police Force'. We will give you a free gun and you will then be able to shoot the Turks (and the British) WITH NO QUESTIONS ASKED. Coming shortly SATIRICAL U.N. 'Peace' Force - guaranteed easy targets.

YOU CANNOT FAIL TO ENJOY THIS BLOODBATH!

Applications should be addressed to the Cypriot High Commissioner, 93 Park Street, W.1.

(* in ancient Greek 'Makarios' = bearded villain, or rogue.)

PRIVATE EYE 20.3.64

A typical Holiday Maker's day in the ISLAND OF SUN.

A morning visit to colourful bloodstained Nicosia.

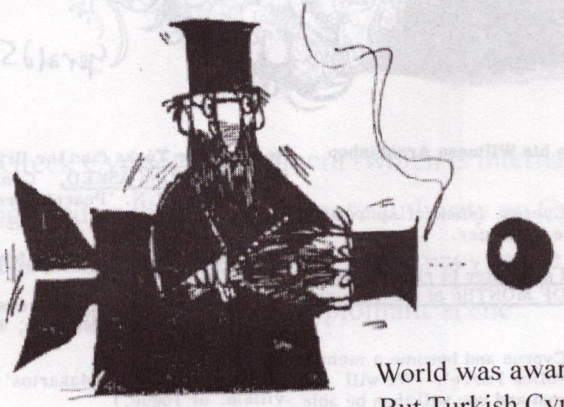
Witness the famous bombthrowing festival in the sun-drenched streets of Limassol.

Attend the traditional Armsgiving Service at the Greek Orthodox Cathedral.

See the Murdering of the Monks pageant - centuries-old rite beloved of the Eastern Church.

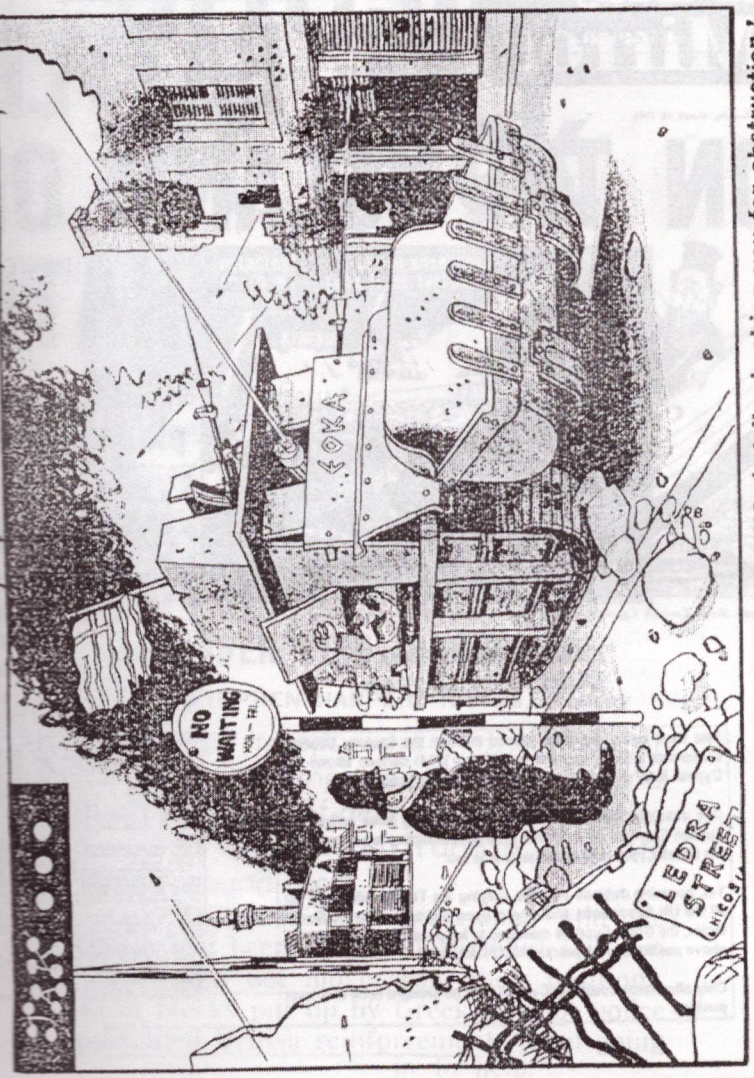
Watch the gnarled Greek fishermen - knotting Turkish heads.

All this PLUS a FREE 'policeman's kit' -including knives, bombs and grenades - each one hand made in Athens.



World was aware of every thing...
But Turkish Cypriots has suffered
and are still suffering...
Does the world care?

Evening News 14 April 1964



'It may have been all right before with UNO, but I'm booking you for obstruction.'

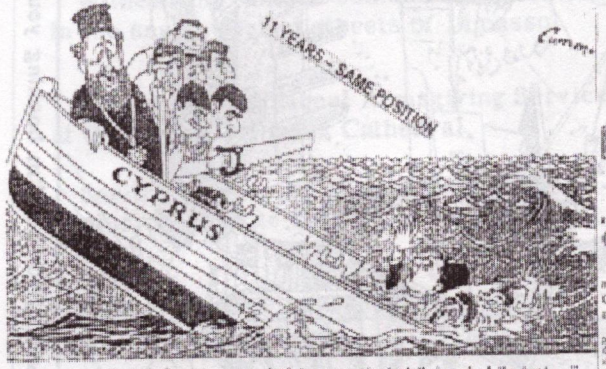
"IN A HURRY BEFORE THE UN FORCE ARRIVES!!!"

Cyprus faces her gravest hour

Daily Mirror

1d. Tuesday, March 10, 1964 No. 18,720

BIG BATTLE ON THE ISLAND OF HATE



"So given those Turkish Cypriots a nasty look to worry about at their end of the boat..."

THE CYPRIOT BOAT DURING 1963-1964

Two days before the draft passed through the Security Council, Cummings's (Daily Express 2nd March 1964) cartoon shows the Cypriot Boat sinking at one end: the Turkish Cypriot end!

One assumes that when the UN peacekeeping force arrives the Turkish Cypriots will be saved or, if peacekeeping is not possible, the Greek Cypriots will ultimately sink too.

Yet, pursuing dubious policies, rallying the Third World vote for all the UN Resolutions and relying upon and exploiting the Soviet factor, the Greek Cypriots managed to keep the boat in exactly the above position for 11 years until 20th July 1974.

Only afterwards could the Cypriot boat be brought back to a level position.

British troops pinned down

From RICHARD DIMBLEBY, Nicosia, Monday

CYPRUS is fast reaching its gravest hour.

There are signs that the bloodiest massacre ever is being prepared—that the Greek Cypriots have decided to throw all caution to the winds.

The Greeks, ignoring a UN appeal from U Thant, United Nations Secretary-General, seem to intend the Turkish Cypriots' greatest race and yet [illegible]

3,000 Turks fight for their lives

Desperate

Britain's 1,200-strong peace force is slowly but doggedly trying the British to keep [illegible] apart [illegible]

Tonight's news from Rome gives the world an estimate of what is to [illegible]

Outgunned and outmanoeuvred, 3,000 Turkish inhabitants of Ktima, ancient capital of the Paphos district, are fighting a desperate [illegible]

'Grave'

The Turkish and Greek forces [illegible]

Fierce and [illegible] fighting [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

Daily Mirror 10.3.1964

British troops pinned down

From HOWARD JOHNSON, Nicosia, Monday

CYPRUS is fast reaching its gravest hour.

There are signs that the bloodiest massacre ever is being prepared—that the Greek Cypriots have decided to throw all caution to the winds.

The Greeks, ignoring a "Stop fighting!" appeal from U Thant, United Nations Secretary-General, aim to settle the Turkish Cypriot problem once and for ever—with guns.

3,000 Turks fight for their lives

Had Turkey's Peaces Operation not taken place
in 1974, Turkish Cypriot problem,
would have been settled "once and forever..."

From Cable Dispatches

NICOSIA, March 9.—Twelve hours of brutal fighting in the western town of Ktima ended tonight after Greek Cypriot police halted fire on surrounded Turkish Cypriots and declared a precarious truce.

The town had exploded into open war when the police mounted a mortar, bazooka and machine-gun offensive against the Turkish quarter after scattered gunfire broke an earlier cease-fire.

About 100 British soldiers cut off inside the Turkish quarter had returned the fire in self-defense, the British said.

There were no casualties among the British. Only one Greek Cypriot was reported killed in Ktima, but the Turkish Cypriot dead are likely to be higher.

Other incidents throughout Cyprus today put the island on the brink of all-out fighting, which it has not had since Christmas, when at least 200 persons were killed.

Troops Warned

Ktima had been surrounded by roadblocks and British troops were not permitted to enter, although they could leave. A British spokesman said Greek Cypriot police had warned them this morning they would be shot "if you get in our way."

The spokesman said at one point, when mortar shells were landing inside the Turkish quarter, the British volunteered to evacuate women and children but were refused by the Greeks, who said the terms were "complete surrender."

By nightfall in Ktima, a city of 6,000 Greeks and 3,000 Turks, a British helicopter had brought Turkish leader Aziz Altay out of the surrounded quarter for peace talks.

"What can he do but surrender?" one Briton said. "They're completely surrounded and getting the

Warning

The Greeks fired on the Turkish quarter with mortars, bazookas, and machine guns.

They warned the British they would be shot if they got in the way of the attack.

The Greeks demanded unconditional surrender and a complete take-over of the town by their men.

The British authorities offered to send vehicles to evacuate Turkish women and children, but the Greeks would not allow it.

Along the Thin Line of Khaki
PETER CHAMBERS reports, Page Eight

Brigadier Donald Crane, British commander in Western Cyprus, was pinned down by cross-fire which blasted a police station in Kennedy Square.

A British armoured car got him away, and he drove through the shooting to tell reporters on the edge of the battle zone :—

"The situation in there is very grave. Our troops are behaving magnificently."

A machine-gunner in a Ferret car of the Royals fired 10 rounds at a Greek armoured bulldozer which was heading for a British position and ignored three orders to halt. The bulldozer backed away.

GUARDIAN 10.3.64

New York Times 10.3.1964

Human life is not important for them, their aim is 'to get rid of Turks'

10-3.64

From JOHN OSMAN
Daily Telegraph Special Correspondent

NICOSIA, Monday.

BRITISH troops of the Cyprus peace force were fired on and fired back in self-defence to-day when Greek Cypriots resumed their attack on the burning Turkish quarters of Ktima. The Greeks ignored a cease-fire which had been arranged.

I flew through clouds of black smoke over the town at 200ft in an Army helicopter.

Fire from mortars, machine-guns, automatic weapons and rifles swept the streets. Many houses were ablaze.

There are about 100 British soldiers in the town, 80 of No. 16 Battery, 26th Regt., Royal Artillery, and 24 of the 1st Royal Dragoons in Ferret scout cars.

The troops replied with machine-gun fire when attacked by an armoured bulldozer. It retreated.

To-night the Cyprus Government said its security forces had halted their advance into the Turkish quarter. They had forced "Turkish rebels" to abandon many positions and concentrate themselves in a small area.

Brig. Donald Crane, British commander in western Cyprus, who was held up in Ktima by the firing.

WOMEN & CHILDREN

Greeks refuse evacuation

A military spokesman said earlier that the British troops were told by the Greek Cypriot leaders there that they "would be shot if they got in the way. The Greeks had refused to allow the evacuation of women and children from the besieged Turkish quarter.

From the helicopter, through the smoke, the Turkish quarter was a chaotic sight. Nine burning buildings could be counted and a blazing car.

A minaret had been reduced to ruins by mortar shells, dozens of roofs and walls were holed and flames leapt skywards.

One minaret remained standing. From it flew the Red and White crescent flag.

A home-made armoured car flying the Greek flag could be seen. Scores of steel-helmeted men, armed with rifles and automatics, moved towards the Turkish quarter, crouching for cover as they went.

The duty of UN FORCES:

When permited:

Watch and report.

Desperate

Britain's 7,000-strong peace force is slowly but surely losing the battle to keep law and order against impossible odds.

Tonight's news from Ktima gives the world an example of what is to come . . .

Outgunned and outnumbered, 3,000 Turkish inhabitants of Ktima, ancient capital of the Paphos district, are fighting a desperate house-to-house battle for survival.

The Turkish flag still flutters from the one remaining minaret.

Flames and smoke billowing up into the night sky from nine blazing buildings in the Turkish quarter can be seen from thirty miles away.

The battle has been going on since shortly after dawn — when yet another cease-fire was broken— with 94 British troops in the thick of the fighting.

They are helpless to do more than try to evacuate the wounded and dodge the streams of bullets and mortar fire.

Seventy of the British troops, men of No. 16 Battery, Royal Artillery, are pinned down in a house in the market square.

Twenty-four Royal Dragoons are isolated in the town in their Ferret armoured cars.

The Greek Cypriot police chief said: "The forces of law will clear the town, disarm the Turks, and stop action only when the Turks completely surrender."

But late tonight, the Greeks suspended their advance to enable Turkish women and children to be evacuated.

'Grave'

Brigadier Donald Crane, British commander in the stricken town, said: "It is a very grave situation.

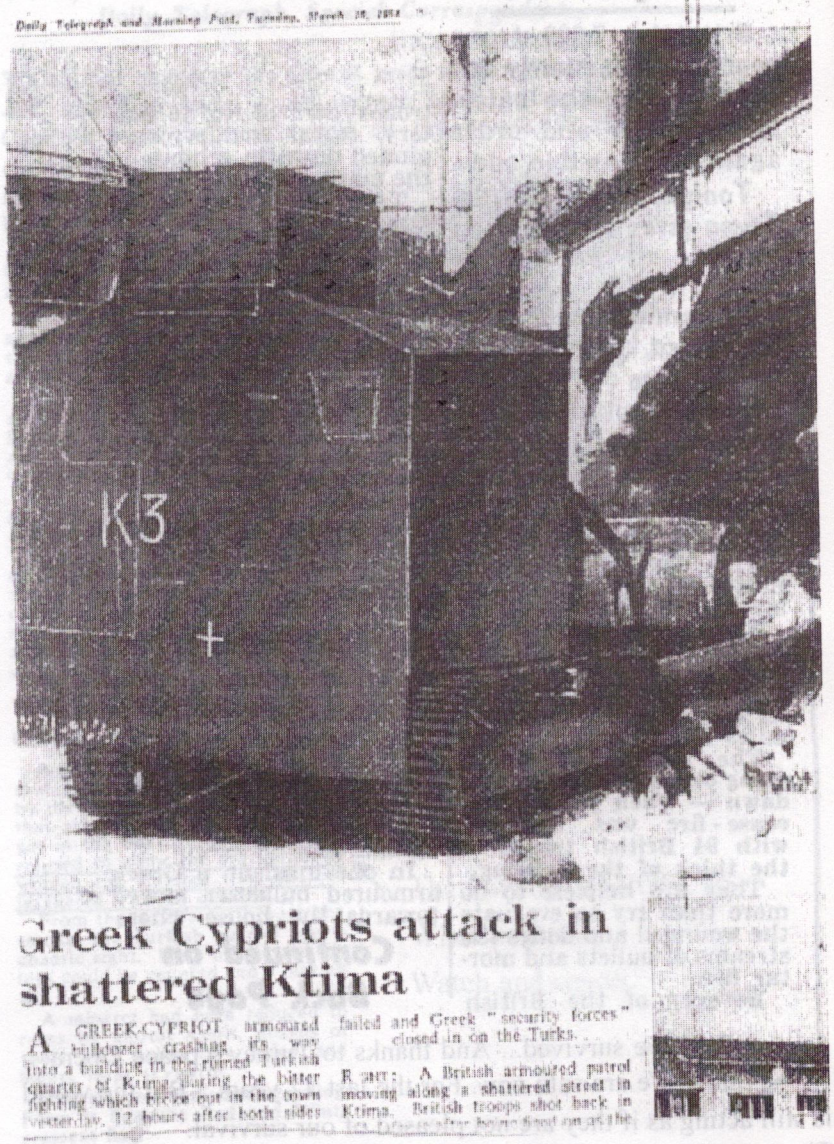
"British troops in the middle of it all are doing a magnificent job."

Throughout the day these troops were fired on, and they fired back in self-defence. There are as yet no reports of British casualties.

In one incident, a Greek armoured bulldozer moved towards the house where

Continued on Back Page

We have survived... And thanks to Turkey's peace Operation. We are safe now. For the last 27 years... But the world is still acting as if they are not pleased of our survival.
They want to put us back in those gettos and (to take the risk of repeating those days) fight for our survival ... may be until we are no more.



Daily Telegraph and Morning Post, Tuesday, March 26, 1974

K3

Greek Cypriots attack in shattered Ktima

A GREEK-CYPRIOT armoured bulldozer crashing its way into a building in the ruined Turkish quarter of Ktima during the bitter fighting which broke out in the town yesterday, 12 hours after both sides failed and Greek "security forces" closed in on the Turks.

BELOW: A British armoured patrol moving along a shattered street in Ktima. British troops shot back in

They used every means for their murders.

(How about this for a peace loving people!)

● A bazooka crew climb into a building as the Greek Cypriots adv:

Against a handful Turkish people including women and children

BURNING BUILDINGS GUARDIAN 10·3·64

No British troops have been killed or wounded in today's fighting, but shots were fired at a house which they were occupying near Ktima's market place. The troops fired back in self-defence.

All Cyprus is tense after the Ktima battle. Greek-Cypriot "forces of law and order" are reported to be ready for action against Turks in Nicosia, Famagusta and Limassol—all scenes of terrorism in the days of Eoka rebellion against the British.

In the Ktima battle, which raged most of the day, Greeks pounded at the Turkish quarter with rifles, machine-guns, bazookas and mortars. Flames from burning Turkish buildings could be seen 30 miles away.

Ktima is the town of hate where fighting broke out on Saturday between the Greek and Turkish communities.

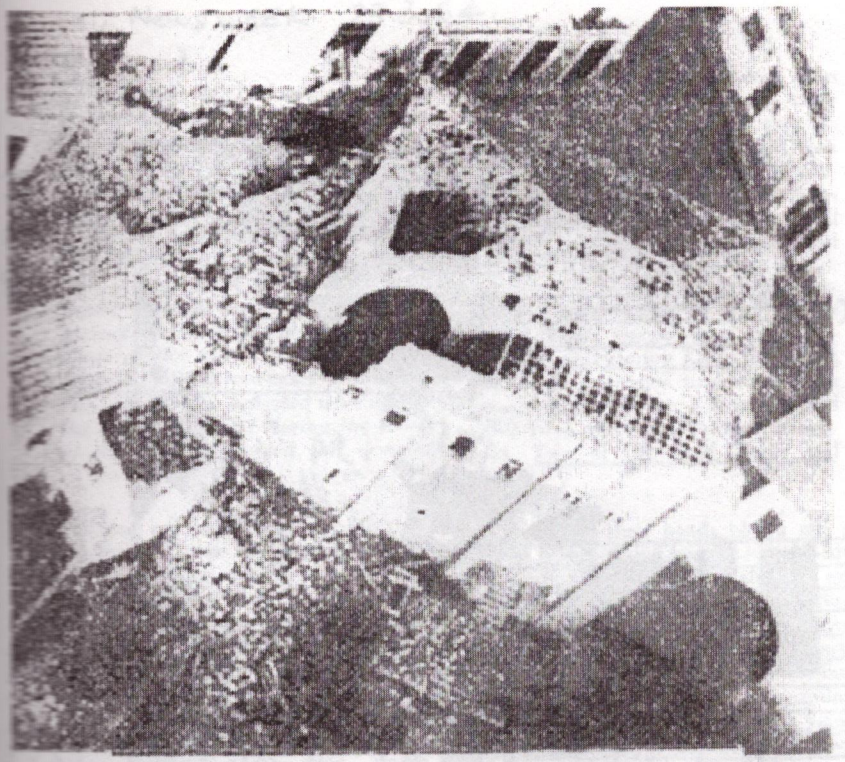
Tonight a mosque and a minaret — which the Greeks claim the Turks used as gun positions — have been smashed to rubble.

REFUSAL

Some of the British soldiers inside the Turkish quarter could be seen sitting calmly by the kerbside as bullets whizzed over their heads.

Greek Cypriots at first refused British pleas for a cease-fire which would have allowed women and children to be evacuated from the Turkish quarter.

Women and children mean noting to them. Their aim is:
Eliminate Turks
Attain ENOSİS



An aerial view of a damaged mosque in Ktima. It was attacked by Greek Cypriots who claimed it had been used as a Turkish gunpost. Below, General P. S. Gyani, of the United Nations, in the market area of Ktima

Once upon a time it was a mosque...

Guardia
10.3.196-

DAILY TELEGRAPH
10.3.64

Greek Cypriots advancing along a rubble-strewn street in the Turkish quarter of Ktima yesterday when heavy fighting flared again only 12 hours after a "permanent" cease-fire had been agreed. (Other pictures—P.18.)

NEWSWEEK 23.3.64

The cause of Turkey's ultimatum to Archbishop Makarios last week was a series of increasingly savage Greek Cypriot attacks on Turkish communities throughout Cyprus. The biggest of these assaults took place at Ktima, capital of the Paphos district of western Cyprus, where at the end of the week a heavily armed Greek Cypriot force was tightening a cruel ring around the 3,500 inhabitants of the town's Turkish quarter. From Ktima NEWSWEEK's *Ward Just, the only foreign reporter who was in the Turkish quarter during the worst of the fighting, cabled this account of the battle:*

"Come on boys," said a cultivated Greek voice over the operational radio. "Let America save them if she can." With that, the Greeks opened up with mortars, bazookas, and a battery of small arms. Well-organized and well-disciplined, the Greek troops fought house to house, supported by mortar and bazooka fire.

Fighting Back: So heavy was the Greek fire that it soon drove the Turks out of their high ground, the St. Sophia mosque. Gradually, they were pushed back into an area not much larger than Yankee Stadium. While Greeks lobbed mortar shells indiscriminately into the Turkish zone, narrowly missing huddles of hysterical children, the Turks fought back from behind low stone walls fortified with sandbags and from houses honeycombed with passageways.

At the end of two days, fires raged in three places in the Turkish quarter, food had run out, and water and electricity had been cut off by the Greeks. "The Greeks are fighting a luxurious battle," said local Turkish leader Azia Altai bitterly. "They are advancing where they can and using mortars and bazookas to do the rest."

Five Bodies: The next day, Altai sought a cease-fire. A British Army helicopter flew him out of the beleaguered quarter to hear the Greek terms. They were simple: "Unconditional surrender." Under instructions from Turkish leader Dr. Fazil Kutchuk in Nicosia, Altai refused and went back to prepare a last stand.

What finally cracked Turkish morale was the sight of five bodies which British troops—who were prevented from entering Ktima by Greek roadblocks—managed to retrieve from the suburb of Phoni, a few hundred yards from the main Turkish stronghold. Two of the dead Turks had the tops of their heads blown off, a third had powder burns on his body indicating he had been shot at extremely close range. When the bodies were dumped on the floor of a temporary morgue in the main square, one Turkish woman was so horrified by the sight that she ran screaming into the square where she was tackled by a neighbor and brought down in the dust like a broken-field runner.

Even reading about it gives one the horrors, but 3000 people in a small area... For eleven years... lived through it... Hard to imagine, isn't it?

The Guardian – 20 February 1964

Day by day and as murder follows murder, detached observers here find it harder to credit the Government of Cyprus with any real determination to stamp out violence. If the President really wants peace on earth and to restore the rule of law, he could start by investigating publicly the circumstances surrounding last Thursday's attack on the Turkish inhabitants of Limassol. The known facts are that on Wednesday (12 Feb) the British peace keeping forces were assured by the Greek authorities that no attack would be made on the Turkish Community. Accordingly the British Army did not patrol the town. At 5.30 the following morning (13 Feb) Greek Cypriot Security forces launched what our special correspondent describes as

"A heavy, well organised, attack against the Turkish quarter of Limassol".

It was carried out by hundreds of steel helmeted men armed with automatic weapons and supported by one tank and two armoured bulldozers. If the Greek Cypriot authorities connived at this formidable attack their behaviour is inexcusable. If they were ignorant of its coming they must forfeit their claim to govern and control their own people, let alone the whole Cypriot Community."

Greek way of doing things.

From PETER MOORHEAD: GHAZIVERAN, CYPRUS, Thursday

TURKISH-CYPRIOT fighters tonight ignored British appeals to surrender as 500 Greek-Cypriots moved in on this village, 40 miles from Nicosia.

Instead they herded their weeping women and children into a school on the edge of the village and announced they would "fight to the death."

Since dawn about 40 Turks armed with a Bren gun, rifles and shotguns have been holding out against Greek police and irregulars who have bombarded them with bazooka and mortar fire.

Men of the Royal Engineer paratroops moved to Ghaziveran in an attempt to restore peace.

But Major Colin Gillespie told me: "We warned the Turks that their position is hopeless. They insist on fighting on. And the Greeks won't allow the women and children to be evacuated.

THEY STAYED

As a thunderstorm loomed overhead the Greek-Cypriots resumed their bombardment and the British troops were told to withdraw.

But 31-year-old Captain John Hill, of Fleet, Hants, and four soldiers stayed on in the village in their armoured Saracen wagon. Once a mortar shell exploded only five yards from them.

While I was talking to Captain Hill, Greek-Cypriots again raked the village with heavy machine-gun fire.

Turks dashed for shelter in doorways and ditches, and even the village sewer.

Tonight the besieging Greeks withdrew to a nearby village and the firing ceased.

British soldiers moved back into Ghaziveran and are again in position around the school filled with crying women and children.

There is intensive United Nations and British pressure on both sides to agree to a permanent cease-fire.

Daily Herald
20 3 64

Merciless attacks on every Turkish village?...

In accord with **'Akritas Plan'**

77th Year in Europe - No. 25,301

Report to UN

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE
20.5.64

Makarios Fails To Find 74 of 91 Missing Turks

By United Press International

NICOSIA, May 19.—President Makarios today told the United Nations he was unable to trace the whereabouts of 74 out of 91 Turkish Cypriots kidnapped by Greek Cypriot irregulars since March 27.

Where are they?

ension mounts in Nicosia:
GUARDIAN
lashes in suburbs
10.3.64

Nicosia, March 9

he British Deputy High
mmissioner, Mr Pickard, met
sident Makarios and Dr
chuk today in an attempt
arrange a settlement at
ma and at the village of
aphani where fighting also
ke out again last night and
eks mortared the Turkish
tion of the village, *writes*
hael Wall.

t Kazaphani the Turks this
rning threw in the sponge and
ed to be evacuated, but
Greeks refused this unless
y agreed to hand in their
s. This afternoon lorries,
orted by paratroops, waited on
Kryenia road to collect the
rks' belongings while security
es took up positions along-
e the road.

A British suggestion that
Turks should remain in the night paratroopers flushed nine armed men out of an empty American-owned house directly opposite battalion headquarters, much to their fury.

At the village of Lapithou in the hills north of Ktima, where yesterday the Greeks attacked and took hostages, five bodies and four wounded were found today. There was no news of six missing. It is noteworthy that in the long list of incidents put out by Greek spokesmen and radio today, when Turks were blamed for each, no mention was made of Lapithou at all.

Today Mr Peter Flynn, one of the BBC's special correspondents in Cyprus, was declared a prohibited immigrant. In fact he left the island on Saturday. This is the first expulsion of a foreign journalist, but it is rumoured that there are more to come.

They have always hidden the realities.

D. TELEGRAPH
20.3.64

Greek Cypriots advancing behind the cover of an armoured bulldozer during a battle with Turkish Cypriots at Ghaziveran yesterday when the first fighting broke out since the arrival there of United Nations troops.

Tonight defiant and outnumbered Turkish Cypriots here ignored British warnings that their position was hopeless. More than 500 heavily-armed Greek Cypriots were besieging the village where the British estimate that 150 Turkish Cypriot defenders are armed with one Bren gun and a number of shotguns.

At dusk tonight British troops abandoned the village "because there is nothing we can do if the

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

The days which the world does not wish to remember.

But, how can we forget?

MAKARIOS CANNOT FIND 74 ABDUCTED TURKS

DAILY TELEGRAPH

ONLY SEVEN RELEASED

HENRY MILLER 20.5.64

Daily Telegraph Staff Correspondent

NICOSIA, Tuesday.

THE fate of 74 of the 91 Turkish-Cypriot hostages seized by the Greeks since the United Nations took control in Cyprus in March became uncertain to-day. President Makarios said he could account only for the 17 others.

This seems to show that he has no influence over extremist groups, who ignored his pleas to act within the law. Forty-six of the Turks have been abducted since the Famagusta shootings on May 11.

Seven hostages were released to-day. Archbishop Makarios told Señor Galo Plaza, U Thant's special envoy, these were the only seven in the hands of the Government. Another 10 arrested after landing in Nicosia from Ankara on Thursday were under investigation over "subversive activities."

The Turks arrested at the airport would also be freed "if no charges were to be preferred."

Señor Plaza said to-day: "I have insisted that the United Nations Secretary-General, the Security Council and the world in general must know what has happened to those innocent people, who had no responsibility for the Famagusta incident."

Did he really want to find them?
(Who gave the order for their abduction)

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH
AND
MORNING POST

DAILY TELEGRAPH - - - June 29, 1855
MORNING POST - - - November 2, 1772
[Amalgamated October 1, 1937]

TUESDAY, MARCH 10, 1964

135, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.4.
TELEPHONE: FLEET STREET 4242.

INDEPENDENT OF ALL GROUPS

FEAR-CRAZED CYPRUS

IN Cyprus now things look uglier than at any time since Christmas. In the prevailing chaos it may be difficult to say precisely what is happening at any given moment, but it is clearly bad enough. Not so bad, however, that rumour cannot make it worse, taking root in fear-crazed minds as fact and fanning there the flames of hate and bitterness. In this poisoned atmosphere even steps designed to lower tension serve only to increase it. Archbishop MAKARIOS orders the release of hostages held by his compatriots. Some are released, but not so many as the Turkish Cypriots expected, who now assume the rest to have been murdered.

For by now the intentions of the Greek Cypriots —if not of Archbishop MAKARIOS then of the gunmen who appear to surround, defy and terrorise him—can hardly be mistaken. Are they not at best to reduce the Turkish minority to total subjection, stripped of all rights and protection? If it is the duty of our troops to obstruct these plans, it will also be the duty of any U N peace force worthy of the name. This force will thus be detested by the Greek Cypriots as we are, and that without necessarily achieving anything: for its presence will be but temporary, leaving the gunmen free in three months or so to resume operations. The gunmen want no peace force, because they want no peace. All they want from outside is the ring held against the threat of Turkish invasion while they finish the job.

They could'nt 'finish the job' with arms. Now they are asking help from EU.

If the Peace Operation had not taken place the 'job' would have been finished.

The Guardian 13.8.64

UN commander's anxiety about Turks' plight

From MICHAEL WALL

Nicosia, August 13

The Cyprus Minister of the Interior, Mr Georghadjis, told me today that if the Turks tried to reinforce the Kokkina garrison the Greek Cypriots would attack, even if it meant setting the whole of Cyprus aflame.

→ The Minister had flown to the Kokkina area with General Grivas and the United Nations Commander, General Thimayya, to discuss the siting of UN observation posts between the Greek and Turkish positions.

Mr Georghadjis said he could only accept posts in positions which would not obstruct a possible Greek attack, but General Thimayya, standing a hundred yards away while Mr Georghadjis, General Grivas, and National Guard

Georghadjis threatens: Setting the whole of Cyprus aflame

Makarios had threatened:

"If Turkey intervines, she will find no Turk to save"

TERRORISTS' ACT IS TERRORIZM

BY TOM POCOCK
Evening Standard 9.3.64

Frenzy

And Archbishop Makarios, President of a Commonwealth country, does nothing to calm this self-induced frenzy.

Greek Cypriot anger is based on the belief that their leaders are the lawful government of Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriots are armed rebels. Therefore, if the British stop Greeks from trying to disarm the Turks, and killing them if necessary, they are siding with the rebels.

It is useless to point out that under the present constitution, to which both President Makarios and the Greek Government agreed, the Greek Cypriot leadership is only the lawful government if it acts in conjunction with the Turkish Cypriot leadership.

Therefore, Cyprus today has either no legal government or two separate governments, Greek and Turkish.

At this point the Greek

And twice, for all the world to see, the Greeks have agreed to a cease-fire only to break it a few hours later with a massive attack on besieged and outnumbered Turks. General Young, the former Truce Force commander, squarely accused them of this at Limassol. Today, they seem to have done the same thing at Ktima.

If the United Nations supports his claim for a government based exactly on proportional representation, then Cyprus is his and, if he so wishes, Makarios can achieve his old ambition of union with Greece.

Everybody could see what was going on except UN..

That gave them the umbrella of 'Legal Government' to continue the crimes...

ek Cyprus
ot rally

SKETCH 29/6

ORGE GRIVAS, the
leader, told 10,000
Cypriots in Nicosia
self-determination was
in Cyprus
rally whether it believed
follow his instructions.
shouted "Yes," he said:

bring more dead and ruins. "But these are Greece's decorations, by which she acquired her freedom," he said.

As Grivas appealed for peaceful co-existence with the Turks, news arrived of shooting at Chaton in the east of the island in which one Turkish-Cypriot was killed and one wounded.

Grivas said he regretted that his "genuine offer of friendship to the Turkish-Cypriot community" had met with no response.

"Turks must understand that they are not in danger from us," he added.

FIGHTING

Later a UN spokesman reported that fighting was still going on at Chaton and that Arab troops had been sent in reinforcement.

● In London last night, Sir Alec Douglas-Home and two members of the Cabinet started talks with Premier Inonu of Turkey in search of a Cyprus solution, writes Keith Kyle.

First aim is to get Mr Inonu and the Greek Premier, Mr. Papandreou, in a frame of mind to accept that direct talks between themselves after the event may attempt

Grivas acclaimed by the crowds as he drives with Makarios.

GRIVAS WAS BACK IN CYPRUS IN 1964

Holding the umbrella of 'false Goverment'

given to him by Resolution 186

He continued his murders...

Makarios agrees to lift blockade

The Guardian 19.8.64

From MICHAEL WALL

Nicosia, August 18

The Cypriot Government today agreed to allow food and fuel through to the Turkish communities throughout the island. The agreement was reached between President Makarios, his Ministers, and U Thant's representative, Señor Galo Plaza, after long talks yesterday and today.

The basis of the agreement is that in Nicosia and in areas where the Turks control the roads the International Red Cross will determine what supplies are necessary and supervise its transportation and distribution. The United Nations force will in fact act as Red Cross agents.

In Ktima where the Turks have had no water for 14 days, the water supply is to be restarted and food from the country will be allowed into the Turkish market.

In Kokkina, Limnitis, and Lefka where the Turks control the roads the Government will allow an adequate flow of food and fuel if the Turks agree to allow the free movement of all civilians under UN vigilance. If they refuse, food will only be allowed in through the Red Cross.

In Nicosia kerosene will be allowed in tonight to permit bakeries to reopen and food and fuel will be permitted in quantities determined by the Red Cross. The Government is determined to prevent the stockpiling of food, thus rations will be small.

Queue for water

This is a wise Government move for the Greeks are losing much world sympathy by the blockade and the Ministers have realised that they were presenting the Turks with a strong case to use against them. Turkish Cypriots will still grumble for life will be neither easy nor comfortable unless they agree to leave their areas to buy in the Greek market but at least they cannot present themselves to the world as starving.

The Government has never accepted the fact that they were seriously in need and yesterday the Greek district officer at Ktima told me that the Turks there had ample food and water. He said he would not relax the restrictions and now it will be interesting to see whether he obeys the Government's orders.

In Ktima Turks were queueing for water brought from allegedly brackish well, and claimed that they had no milk, rice, or cigarettes and only enough flour, beans, and oil for eight days. The Turks claimed that they were prevented from leaving the area to buy outside, but Police Superintendent Papageorghiou denied this and in my presence repeated orders to all police to allow any Turk out unmolested. This agreement, if fully enforced, is victory for common sense and UN mediation.

Whenever they liked, we were without water, food, electricity etc. for weeks...

Greeks always make such shows to deceive the world.
Blocates continued; and many Turks who went to the Greek Side to buy food were lost and still missing.

I SEE MYSTERY LORRIES LEAVE CYPRUS PORT

1.6.64

From SCOTT GIBBONS: Nicosia, Tuesday

I DROVE to the Greek-Cypriot port of Limasol today to investigate reports that 3,000 men and 1,000 tons of equipment have been seen moving to the mountains by night.

The departure of the convoys of trucks and buses, reported by UNO observers, always coincided with the arrival in Limasol of the Greek ship Hermes and other vessels from Syria and Egypt.

Outside the port today I saw a small convoy heading for the interior. Trucks with their loads covered in tarpaulins were guarded by Greek-Cypriot police.

'Move over!'

As my car approached the police called through a loud-speaker: "Get over to the other side of the road."

UNO men have been refused permission to investigate these convoys.

On one occasion they had Bren guns pointed at them by armed civilians and the Greek-Cypriot National Guard.

The nationality of the men carried in the buses—always with curtains drawn—has not been established by UNO.

When the ships arrive at Limasol all Turkish-Cypriot dock workers are sent away.

Greek-Cypriot police and National Guards cordon off the area and refuse to allow UNO troops to enter.

UNO has no right of entry or search.

Senior Aircraftman Neil Jarvis, arrested by Cyprus police two days ago, was released in Limasol tonight.

A British spokesman said it was understood that no charges were being made against him.

Three charges against another senior aircraftman, Keith Marley, aged 24, and his wife Flora, who is 22, were dropped. These accusations alleged conspiracy against the Cyprus Government.

But fresh charges concerning alleged possession of arms were introduced for the trial of Mr. and Mrs. Marley on July 6.

All the arms and eleven years were not enough to eliminate the Turkish Cypriots.
Now they are trying the EU channel

The Guardian 27.8.64

Makarios hopes for Enosis soon

'Wish of all Greek Cypriots'

From MICHAEL WALL

Nicosia, August 26

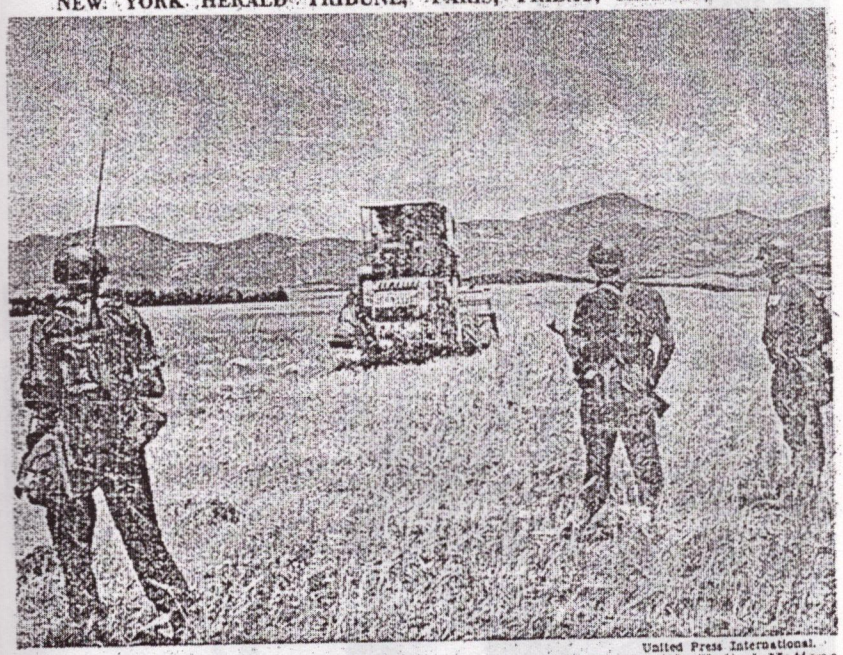
President Makarios today declared himself to be unequivocally in favour of the union of Cyprus with Greece.

When the new Greek Ambassador, Mr M. Alexandrakis, presented his credentials at the Presidential Palace, President Makarios told him:

"It is my wish and prayer that you be the last Greek Ambassador and that your term of office under this capacity will be of a short duration with the unconditional, and without exchanges, union of Cyprus with Greece materialising soon."

He asked the Ambassador to convey this prayer and wish to the King and the Greek Government as being "the fervent desire of the whole Greek Cypriot people who are now so bravely fighting for its achievement."

The unchanged aim as ever



United Press International.

A HARVEST IN FEAR—Turkish Cypriot farmers operate an automatic harvester on a farm near Nicosia, under the watchful eyes of Finnish United Nations soldiers guarding the area against possible attack by Greek Cypriot forces.

Greek Cypriots Have Seized 30 Turks Since Monday

NATO to Try To Bar Turk,

The SKETCH says

DAILY SKETCH
11.3.64

ONE photograph tells the world how British soldiers are humiliated by the gunmen of Makarios.

Corporal Harry Harding, of the Life Guards, helpless because of his orders, stands with a Greek Cypriot gun at his back.

Only two weeks ago—above the photograph of a Briton murdered by Eoka—the Daily Sketch asked: "Must all this happen again?"

Now a new photograph shows that the brink has been reached. That it can happen again—and very soon.

For what powers have British troops in Cyprus?

They may not disarm those terrorists whom Makarios calls his "special security force."

Who can safeguard
The Turks in Cyprus?

Evening Standard 10/3/64

A rifle and a machine-gun held by Greek Cypriots poin down from Nicosia's Famagusta Gate at the Turkish convo; and its British escort.

The convoy was carrying food aids of Red Crescent...
All were being poured on the road.
Most were spoiled; their excuce was:
Searching the cars.

13/1/65 DAILY SKETCH

Humiliation . . . A Greek-Cypriot disarms a British UN soldier. This new picture of the incident eight days ago in which Britons were arrested, causing protests in Parliament, underlies what a difficult job the peace force has.

UN Soldiers could'nt help themself!...
How could they help The Turks?..

Grivas argues the benefits of Enosis

The Guardian

Hero's welcome at Famagusta

From MICHAEL WALL

6-7-1964 Famagusta, July 5

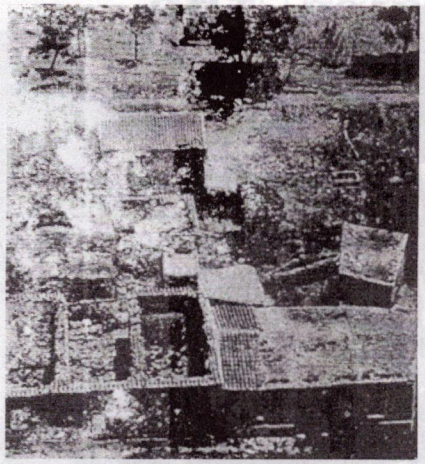
Grivas made his triumphal entry into Famagusta this morning, openly proclaiming himself the missionary of Enosis. Speaking from a balcony, with his voice rising to impassioned heights, he told the crowd sweltering in the streets below and overflowing into the public gardens that they would shortly see the dawn of liberty and union with Mother Greece.

The cards are down now, and that mention of Enosis in Nicosia Hospital was no slip of the tongue. Careful references to self-determination and a plebiscite in the first two speeches are things of the past Grivas has come for one purpose only—to preach and fight for the union of Cyprus with Greece

His speech here today was mostly taken up with arguing that Cyprus would benefit economically and be assured of its security when it unites with Greece, and it is clear that Grivas is already trying to counter the whispering campaign which is spreading doubts about the blessing of Enosis.

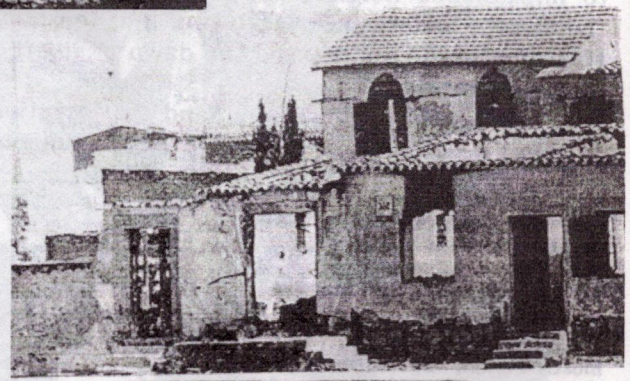
The DREAM of ENOSİS!

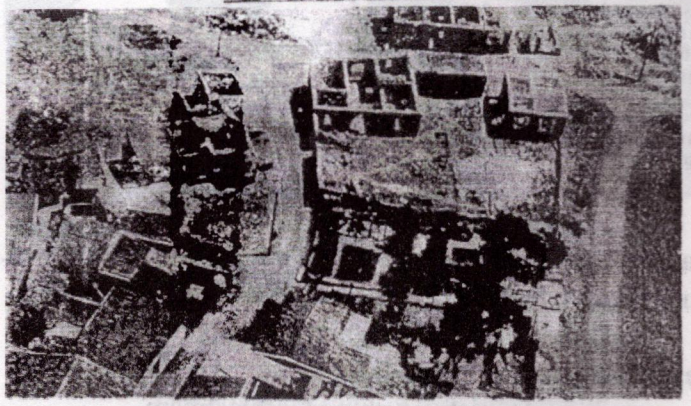
The main aim of the Greeks the cause of all murders and bloodshed.
Still their main aim; for which they can do everything. The whole reason for all the murder and bloodshed..
Today the main aim of the Greeks is the same... And I believe they are prepared to risk everthing for this dream.



Top and bottom left corner:
Aerial pictures of two of
103 Turkish villages destroyed
by Greek during 1964.
Pictures were taken by UNFICYP
for U.N. expert Ortega's
report on damages to property.

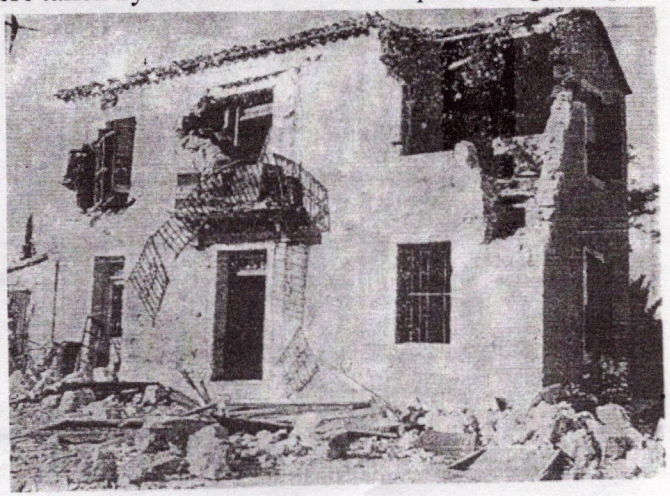
How they looked
from the ground

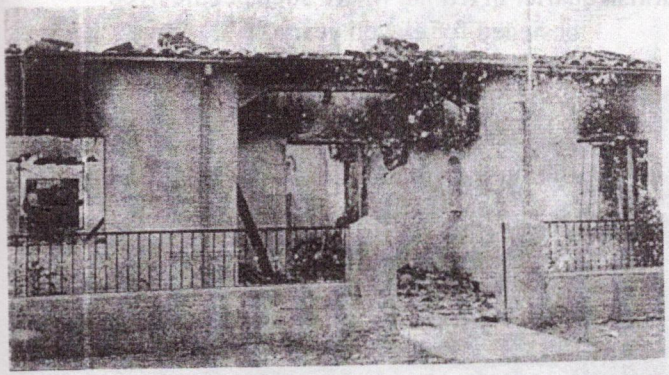




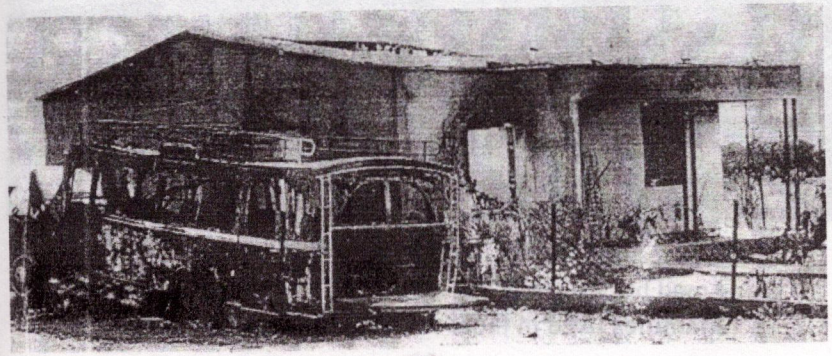
Pictures were taken by UNFICYP for UN expert Ortega's report

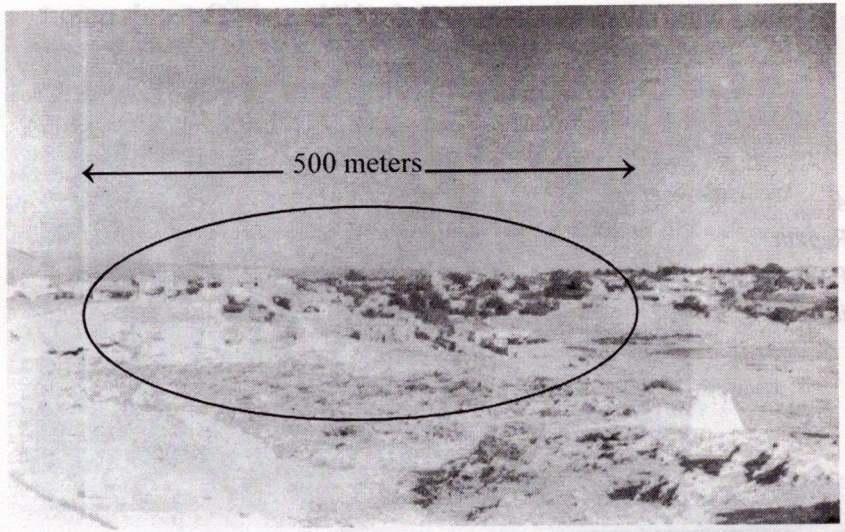
A
Repeat
Performance
in 1974.



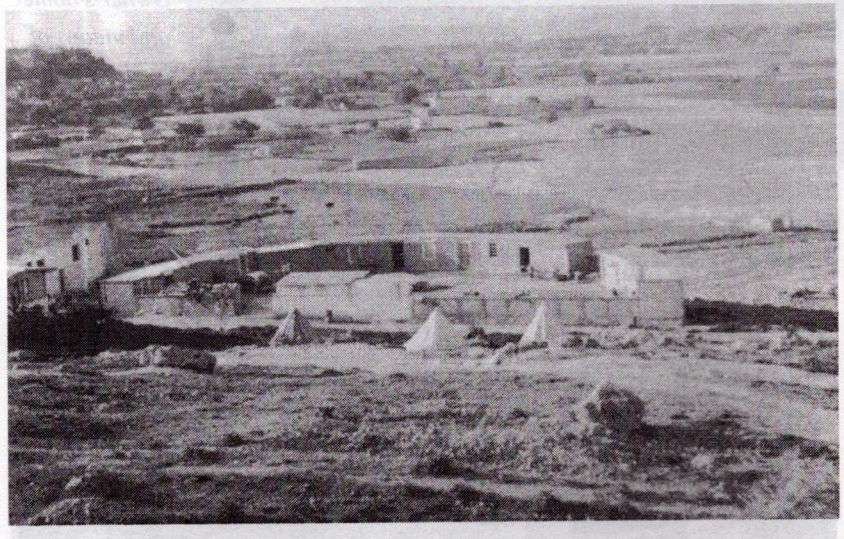


Owner's home
and means of
lively hood
(lorry)
gone up in
smoke!

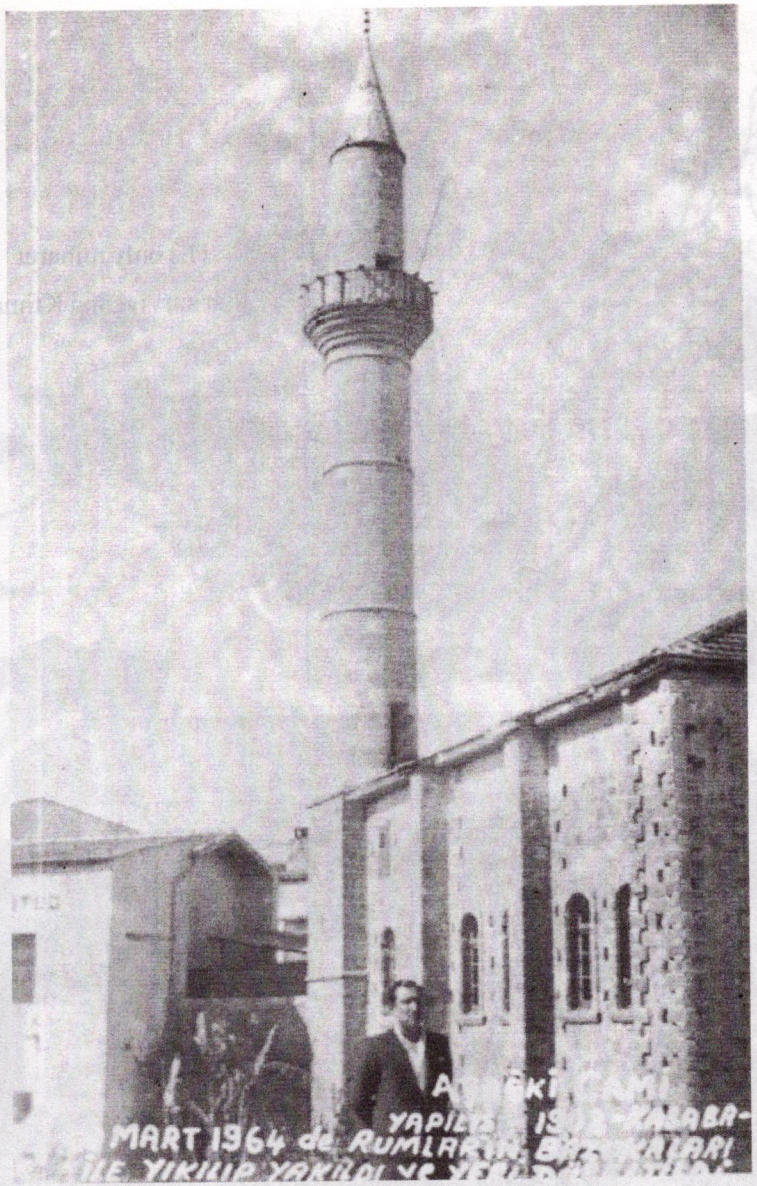




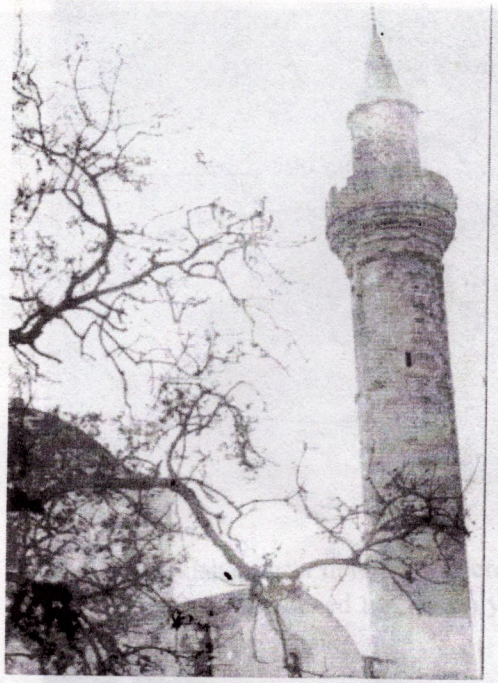
The Turkish quarter in Ktima, where 3000 people lived
besieged for eleven years.



The crescent shaped place, was an old animal market.
Using mud bricks it was converted into 12 rooms and one w.c.
12 families lived in those rooms for years as refugees...



The mosque which was destroyed by Greeks
on 9 March 1964...
There is an oto park at it's place now.

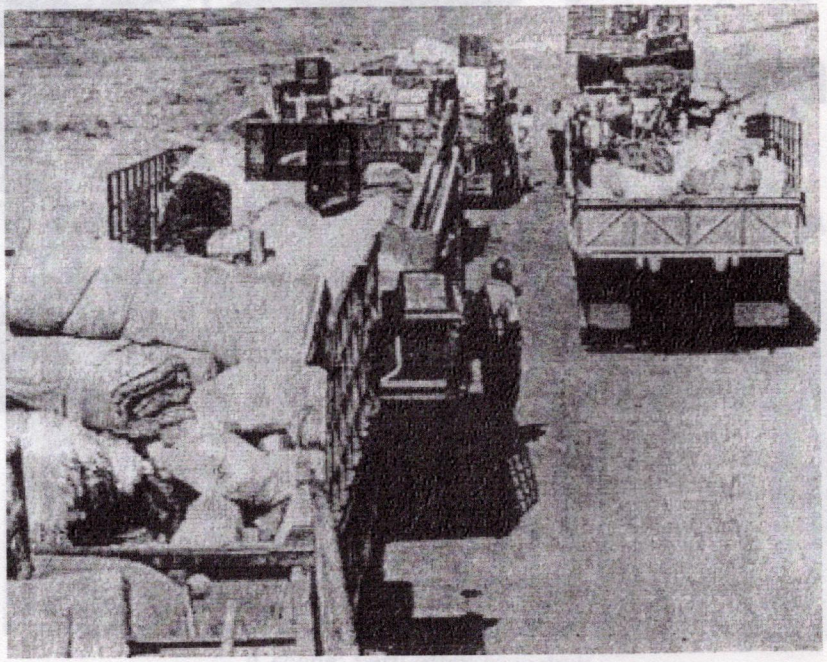


The only minaret
that survived in Ktima.

A scene; very often repeated:
Burying martyrs in sorrow...

Thousands of refugees...
Left their houses and lands...
Time and time again...

A scene that we have withnessed very often during those days.



103 Turkish villages were evacuated.

DAILY TELEGRAPH
April 29, 1964

Some of the old people inside the school, which has been repeatedly struck by Greek cross-fire. Also sheltering there are 15 babies and 75 other children and mothers.

Atatürk Monument
in the square of
The Turkish quarter in Ktima.

Behind: The Turkish Administration Buldings.

Police welfare, municipality, court, education, health services etc were set up and gave service from 1964 to 1974...

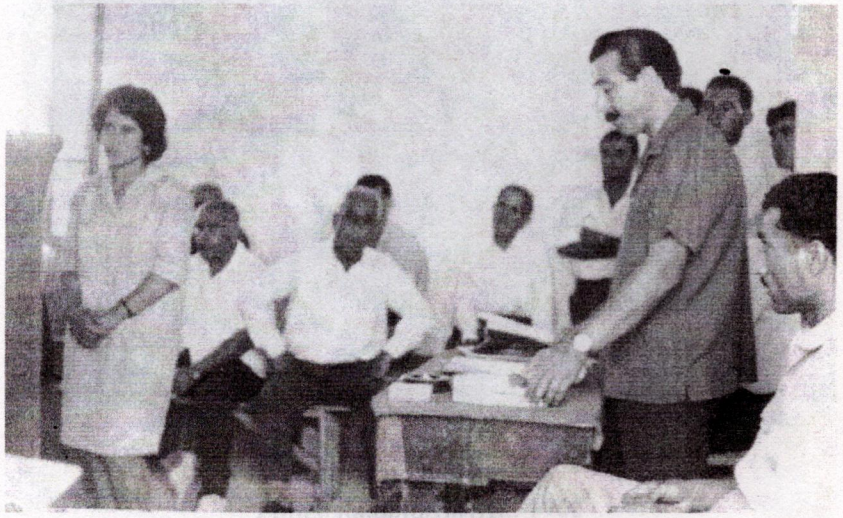
3000 people protesting for wrongful treatment by the World, 1964 in Ktima.

Who cared?

Police force in Ktima.. 1965

A wounded on arms...
To hospital...
But what about medicine?...

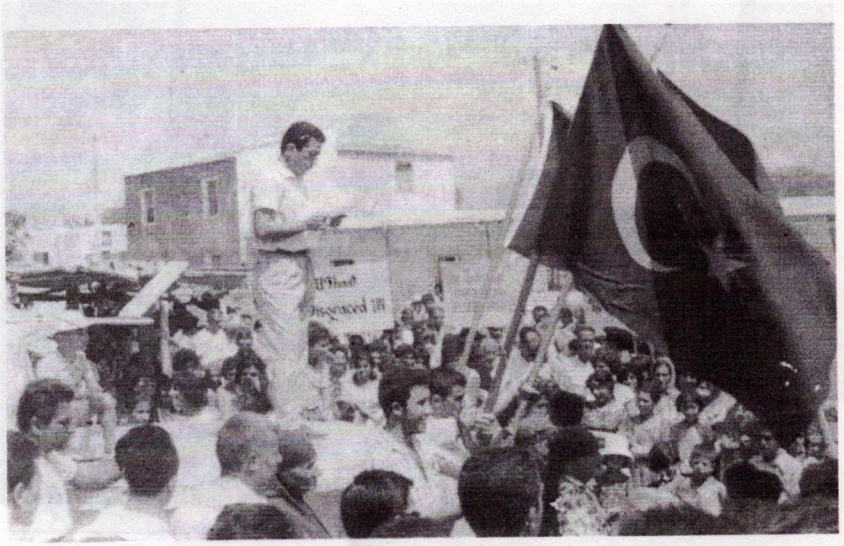
The court in Turkish quarter (above and below)



Childreen at school

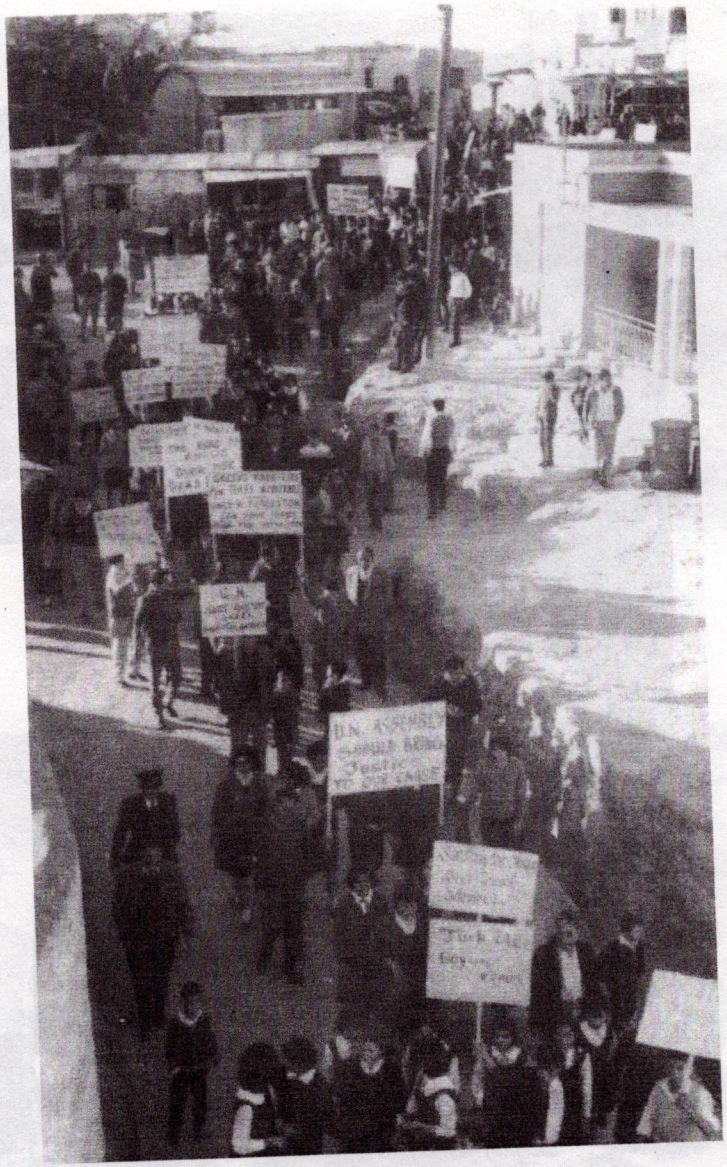
Entertainment at school

But They were always alert to run away for a shelter in case of an attack or random shots by Greeks.



A meeting... Protesting UN... 1964

And another meeting...
And today, after 40 years we are still protesting...
But is there anybody who shows interest,
or
CARES?



Protesting... Again... Ktima, 1964
We protested... Murders continued...

Students protesting againts discrimination and demanding justice... Ktima 1965

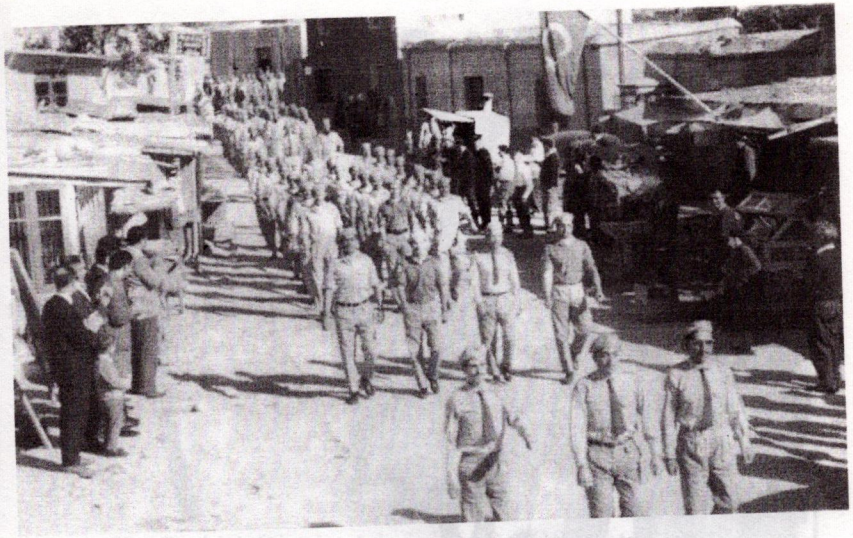
TODAY.. THEY ARE STILL PROTESTING TOGETHER WITH THEIR GRAND CHILDREN ..... for justice.....

Everybody worked to make bricks from mud...

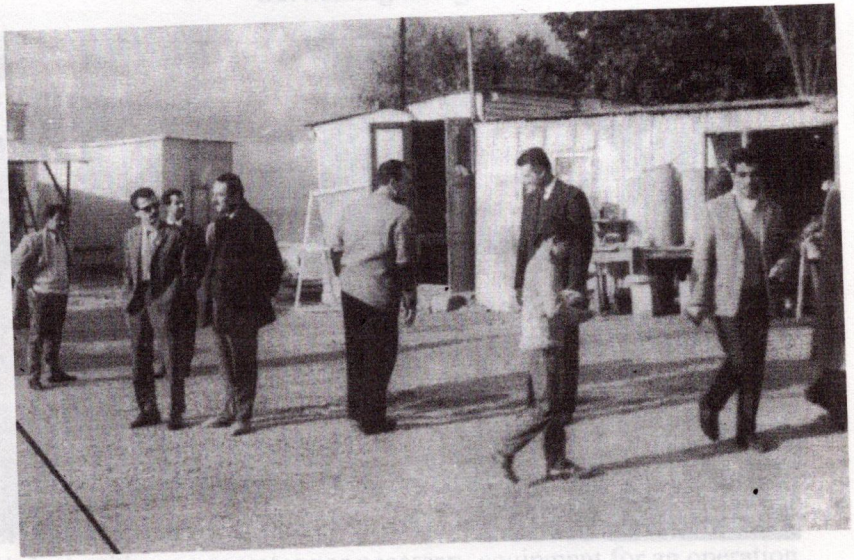
And then huts for refugees.

Brick makers - A break for lunch...

More refugees... More bricks from mud...



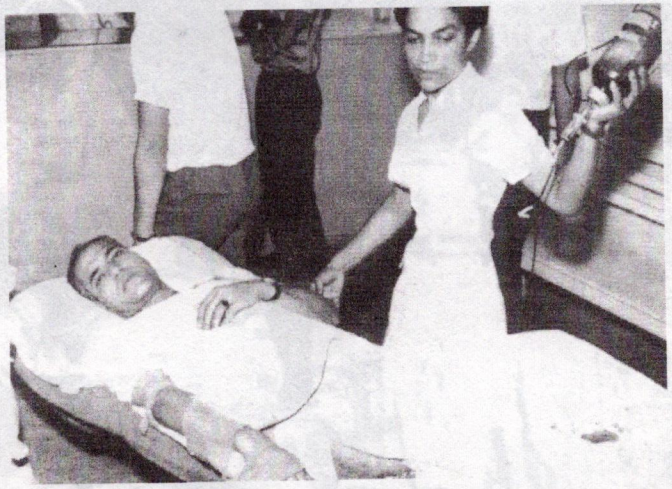
Primitive huts... Specially built and used as shops.



Everybody was
ready to fight against
ENOSIS

Working alltogether .... Bulding huts.

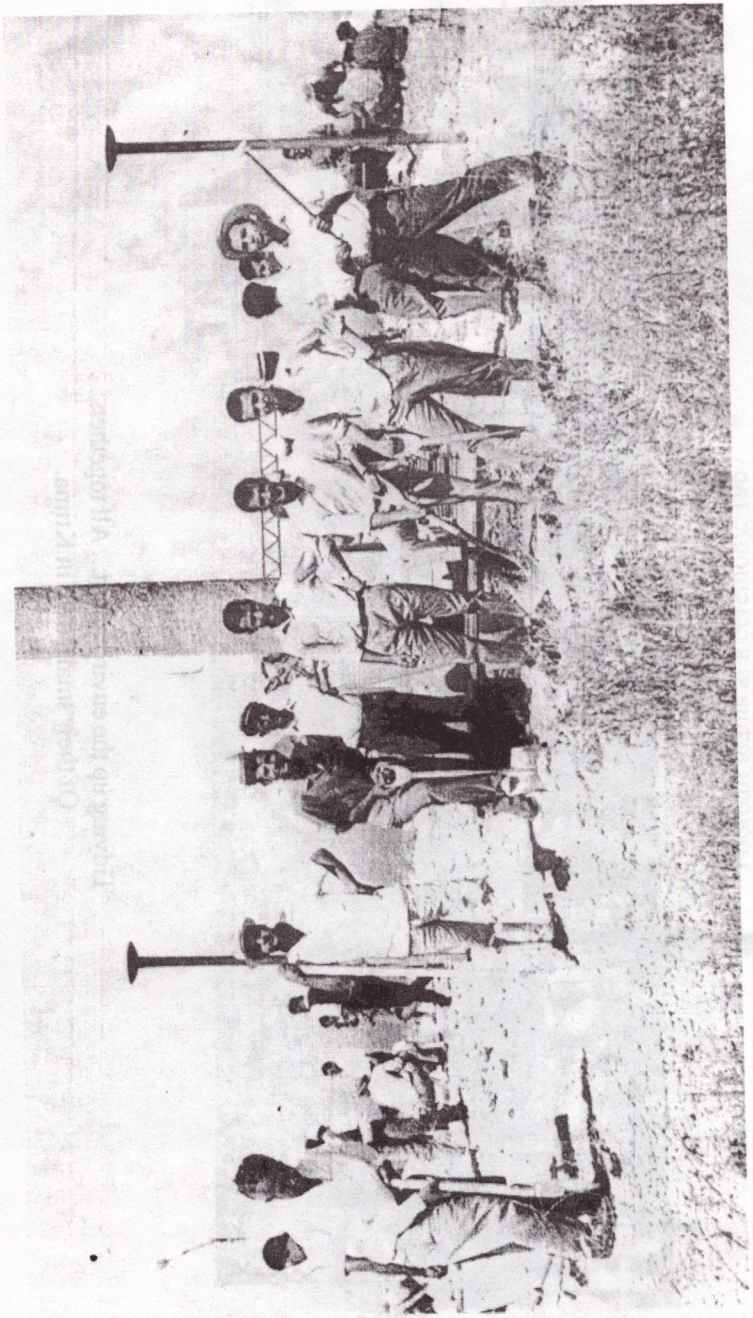
The Turkish District Administrative Officer talking
to the Commander of The U.N. Forces at a social gathering
in The U.N. Headquarters.
They only listened the proplems and probably reported.
But nothing changed...



Police Inspector was shot by Greeks, while walking in the street...
We had neither an operator nor necessary equipment for an operation.
He was sent to Nicosia...
But it was too late...

Homeless people... wating
They needed accomodation, food, milk and medicine.
But first of all... SECURITY

Running in terror... To survive



Working for a tidy environment

Tidying up the environment... All together...
Of their small town in Ktima.

Football teams at a ceremony. 1967
An essential need for change and morale.
Organised by Turkish Administration.

Racing for entertatement.

President Denktaş at one of his visits in Ktima.
Smiles of hope and morale on faces...

THE DAYS AFTER 9 MARCH 1964

After the fighting on 9 March 1964 we, the 3,000 Turks, continued to live besieged in the small quarter, under a heavy and inhuman embargo. We have been attacked several times although not as heavily as on 9 March.

While walking in the street in the Turkish quarter, we had to be careful not to be seen by armed Greeks, watching the Turkish quarter from the fortifications on high buildings. We were fair game for them.

A police officer walking in the street, a student studying on a balcony-like roof, an old and deaf man on his way to mosque, another man while shaving, in his house. Through an open window, they were all shot dead by Greeks at different times.

Even on the days when the Greeks announced freedom of movement, travelling was another big danger. Whenever a person or a family decided to travel from one place to another, it was a big anxiety. Hundreds went missing on the roads. At the many check points which had been set up on the roads, the women especially were being subjected to lengthy body searches, sometimes for hours.

The produce of the villagers, and the goods of passengers were poured onto the roads and spoiled. Their excuse was: "*We want to search the car.*"

Even watermelons were cut open on the pretext of looking for concealed weapons.

I am sure I can not explain in words the fears, stresses and feelings of the Turks who were herded into small areas or villages, surrounded by armed Greek forces, and waiting to be attacked at any time during the day and night.

A BESIEGED LIFE

We were living but it was a tense and intolerable life. Whenever there was fighting or tension even in the other parts of the island, small villages and besieged Turkish quarters were punished. We were one of them.

They cut the water supply and electricity for weeks on end. Petrol, food and even cigarettes were not allowed to enter the Turkish quarter for weeks and weeks. Everybody, including correspondents of foreign newspapers, was searched before entering into the Turkish quarter.

We used water from some wells, although we knew the water was unhealthy.

The UN forces suggested supplying us with a water tanker but the Greeks would not allow it. For the distribution of water to houses, we placed several barrels on a lorry, connected them to each other and used it as a tanker.

Wood was used to heat the ovens for bread.

Restrections were so severe that the population in many villages and towns had neared starvation point.

Uthant, the Secretary General of UN Stated that the restrections being so severe "indicate that the Goverment of Cyprus seeks to force a potantial solution by economic pressure as a substitute for military action"

The Greeks used to fire random shots all night to keep us awake and tense.

People were kidnapped while travelling or working in their fields. Most of them went missing and are still missing.

Money and valuables were often confisticated from the Turks. Many Turks especially those seeking to buy sheep or other food for enclaved carrying large amounts of money mysterously disappeared. The money had been stolen and its owner murdered.

Sometimes one or two were shot dead in their fields. There is no record of any Greek Cypriot ever having been arrested, let alone charged for killing a Turkish Cypriot during thse eleven years from 1963 - to 1974

The plain fact was that it was simply not a crime in Cyprus for a Greek to murder a Turk.

All the men had duties day and night, watching the Greek side, taking turns in case of an unexpected attack.

Everybody, including children and their teachers at school, was alert, and ready to run and take shelter at anytime, in case of an attack or random shots.

In the first year, every building was used to accommodate refugees, including shops.

Using the buildings on and near the border was dangerous.

We were short of building materials.

Primitive huts were constructed along the streets and were used as shops: grocers, butchers, coffee shops, etc. Although very unhealthy, it was the only possible solution.

Everybody was determined to face whatever difficulty might arise but not to surrender.

HOUSES FOR REFUGEES

Refugees were in need of better living accommodation. But 40 different kinds of materials, including building materials were prohibited to enter into the Turkish quarter.

Everybody worked to make mud-bricks and build some rooms to improve conditions.

We used the school garden for different activities and as a cinema. The wall of the school building was used as the screen. It amuses us now to remember that we met two or three nights a week just to watch the same film for months and months because we could not get another film from anywhere.

In time, with the functioning of Turkish administration, we managed to improve our living conditions. We built some sort of a hospital, municipal market, a slaughterhouse, a playground where football matches and other activities were held, a local radio station etc.

THE ONLY SERVICE GIVEN TO THE TURKS

During the 11 year-long ethnic cleansing campaign, Greek Cypriot military forces, with the aid of Greece, killed hundreds of Turks, men,

women and children, and 25,000 Turks were forced out of their homes in 103 villages. Hundreds of houses and dozens of mosques were destroyed.

The Turks were herded into small enclaves surrounded by armed Greeks.

We had been driven out of partnership in the state. We were stateless. We were deprived of all government services. Only one service was working for us. If a Turk wanted to leave the island permanently 'THE EXIT VISA SERVICE' was ready to oblige.

SELF-GOVERNING STATE

We had been thrown out of the state and we could get no service from the state. Planned, heavy attacks were continuing. So we had no choice but defend our lives and establish our own governmental institutions and give service to the Turkish people. Separate police, post office, well fare, court of justice and other services had been set up. Thus Cyprus was split into two ethnically homogenous self-governing states.

The Cyprus of two separate states was not established after the Turkish Peace Operation as believed by the world – deaf and blind as they are as far as the Turks are concerned – but by Makarios and Grivas many years before 1974.

The Turkish Peace Operation blocked the way of ENOSIS, stopped the bloodshed on the island, provided the Turks with security of life and brought peace to the island.

In the years following 1963, with the help of Greece and thousands of soldiers from Greece under the command of Grivas, many merciless attacks were launched on different Turkish villages. Hundreds of Turks were brutally murdered and many villages destroyed.

Having been decidedly warned by Turkey, Grivas and his soldiers returned to Greece, though after a short time they were secretly back again.

An attempt to find a peaceful solution through negotiations between the two communities was made in June 1968. The Greek side did not need a solution. They deliberately let the talks drag on fruitlessly. The Greeks hoped to achieve through attrition what they had failed to achieve through armed attacks.

COUP OF 15 JULY 1974

On 15 July 1974, Junta-controlled Greek army officers staged a coup against Makarios to attain ENOSIS as soon as possible. Nicos Sampson, the notorious EOKA terrorist, was installed in his place as President.

(Nicos Sampson later stated that when Turkey's Peace Operation started on 20 July 1974, he was about to declare ENOSIS.)

During the 5 days of civil war among the Greeks, it was reported that up to 2,000 Greeks died. (A priest later told Makarios that lorry loads of dead bodies were flung into mass graves around Nicosia cemetery. The Priest also revealed that he had been forced by the coup leaders to bury the wounded together with the dead.)

After the coup, we could easily guess what would happen to us under the presidency of Sampson, the famous Turk-hater.

Harry Scott Gibbons in his book the Genocide Files Writes:

" Greek Cypriot National Guard documents captured in the following weeks revealed a hair raising-plan to wipe out the entire Turkish population of the Island. I have before me, as I write, copies of some of these captured documents...

Every detail of the extermination plans are revealed. The villages to be wiped out with their inhabitants, the units assigned to specific areas and tasks, and even where to burry the Turkish corpses, it is all there..."

" The most frightening think of all is the revelation that The Greek Cypriots civilian population was to be organised and brainwashed into going in the slaughter."

The Genocide Files P. 407

"The whole plan was codenamed" IPHESTOS (Volcano) 74 and was desribed as an internal security operation"

P. 409

The 3,000 Turks in our besieged quarter in Ktima were helpless. The only thing we could do was to pray: pray that Turkey could come and save us.

TURKEY'S PEACE OPERATION

With the news in the morning of 20 July 1974, everybody poured into the streets. Young, old, men, women... some were cheering, singing... some were crying and all praying, thanking God for Turkey's arrival.

It was an extraordinary day.

The day we had been waiting for, for eleven years...

But the cheering died quickly. At about 10am, Greek armed soldiers started gathering around the Turkish quarter and building new fortifications. At the same time, a warship flying the Turkish flag entered the harbour, about one mile to the south of the Turkish quarter. We could see soldiers disembarking. The UN liaison officer informed us that it was a Turkish ship, disembarking soldiers.

At about 11 am, the Greeks launched a very heavy attack on the Turkish quarter. They used heavy machine-guns, bazookas and mortars. After a while, the warship in the harbour bombarded the Turkish quarter. (It was a Greek warship but used a Turkish flag to avert danger from Turkish airplanes.)

From the very moment that the attack started, hundreds and hundreds of bullets, bazookas, mortars and bombs rained on the Turkish quarter.

On a small, inhabited place, so many bombs, mortars and bullets....

The cries of women and children made the horrible sounds of bombs and bullets more unbearable.

Every bomb fired from the warship was knocking a wall or a roof down. The sky was covered with dust and black smoke. It was hell on earth.

The UN liaison officer, telling us that his life was in danger and he could not continue his job in the Turkish quarter, left in an armoured car.

Every square metre of the Turkish quarter was under fire. There were many wounded and a few dead. Everybody's life was in danger.

It continued until night. During the night the noises of cars and bulldozers were the indication of their preparation. It was a very tense night. Nobody slept.

Next day, at first light, the attack continued. It was heavier than the previous day. We had little ammunition left and we couldn't get any help. Everybody's life was in danger.

After a cease-fire agreed through the UN, the Turks in Ktima surrendered their arms to UN forces. According to the terms of the agreement, the armed Greeks would not enter the Turkish quarter.

IN THE AFTERNOON

In the afternoon at about 5 p.m., two Turkish airlanes flew over Ktima and bombarded some places near the port.

A group of armed Greeks rushed into the Turkish quarter and at gun point forced about 50 people into a building. I was among them. They sent for carriers to take us to the port to be killed by the bombs of Turkish airplanes.

A few UN soldiers oposed firmly for we were unarmed and according the agreement they should have not entered the Turkish quarter. They did'nt care.

Fortunately the airplanes left before the carriers arvived.

After about one hour we were released but hundreds of armed Greeks were in Turkish quarter again; searching houses and questioning people about Turkish soldiers. They believed that there were many Turkish Soldiers in Turkish quarter and fought against them.

The chief District Administrator and a policeman were taken at gun point and driven to an unknown destination for not revealing the hideing place of the Turkish soldiers.

With the armed Greeks in the Turkish quarter breaking into houses and questioning people, 3000 Turks lived in continual fear.

THE DAYS AFTER

Soon the world began to see the positive results of the Peace Operation. The military junta in Greece collapsed. The one-week presidency of the murderer Sampson came to an end. The civil war among the Greeks stopped. Only the Turks throughout the island were not yet safe.

The British, Americans and many others were trying to stop Turkey's advance.

I wonder where were these governments when hundreds of Turks were being murdered, only a few days before that.

After two days, Turkey declared a cease-fire. Although a bridgehead had been established in the north of Cyprus, the Turks in the other

parts of the island were in great danger. There was a full-scale attack on Turks everywhere.

At a conference held in Geneva, Turkey, Britain and Greece agreed that Turkish troops would not leave Cyprus until a final solution had been reached.

According the agreement the armed Greeks moved out of the Turkish quarter in Ktima.

But the Greek attacks on the Turkish Cypriots were continuing. The Greeks refused to stop the armed siege of Turkish enclaves.

On 14 August the second phase of the Peace Operation began…

The Greeks continued their systematic massacre of Turkish Cypriots.

14th AUGUST, 1974

We were unarmed and left to the mercy of the UN; but at the same time we were aware that the UN could do nothing to defend our lives. What we feared and suspected, happened.

On 14 August at about 10am, hundreds of armed Greeks rushed into the Turkish quarter from all sides. They were firing at the doors and windows, shouting, "*Run to the football ground*". Others shouted, "*Don't run, walk slowly*" and they were firing.

3,000 people poured into the streets from their houses, proceeding towards the football ground. The screams of people were mixed with the noise of gunfire. Women with their babies in their arms were screaming and running in terror, some helping old people to walk and get to the football ground. I, myself, was going there, holding my wife and 5 year-old daughter, one on each side of me. The streets were full of people and armed Greeks were firing all around us.

On the way, we saw two people lying at the edge of the road. They were wounded and asking for help.

Nobody could help them; the Greeks were firing on those who attempted to help…

One of them, a young graduate, was lying in a pool of blood under the statue of Atatürk. He was seriously wounded. He could'nt move. He was asking help by stretching one of his arms towards the people passing by. Several armed Greeks were watching him. A young boy who attempted to help was shot and wounded. Later we learned that the young graduate died there, because of lost of blood and the Greek soldiers watched him dieing.

We were all in the football ground. There we got the horrifying news from others from different parts of the Turkish quarter. Eight people had been brutally murdered, one of them a three-year old child, killed in his father's arms. (On the body of the toddler, thirty bullet holes were found: UN documents: 11458) Her father was seriously wounded.

An ex policeman was dragged out of his house; his wife and children tried to stop them but could'nt. They carried him round a corner there and killed him brutally. Another group went to the house of Erdoğan Çakır (whom I mentioned before) knocked at the door. Erdoğan's brother opened the door. They shot him dead. Erdoğan was behind him. They

shot him dead as well.

Münür Dilaver was an officer in Cyprus Army. He was going to the football ground as well. On the way he met Greeks of Cyprus army. They knew each other.

He suggested them to show more understanding to women and children. He was dragged away by armed Greeks and shot dead in cold blod.

We were all at the football ground and hundreds of armed Greeks around us were shouting and firing at random. Everything was indicating that they were preparing to shoot us all.

It was tremendously moving and at the same time absolutely horrifying to see the women with a look of sheer terror on their pale faces trying to protect their crying children by shielding them with their own bodies.

After some fear-filled time, they ordered all women, old people and children to return to their homes and kept the young and able-bodied men as fighters- at the football field. They made us all sit on the ground.

A Greek soldier, whose ruthless, bearded face is still alive in my memory, placed a machine-gun in front of us and started to load the magazine of the gun. We looked each other with questioning eyes...

I looked at my friend Mustafa sitting beside me…

He whispered: "*The End.*"

In seconds we would all be shot dead.

Unbearable long, dreadful seconds…

And then… death…

Just then a Greek officer rushed into the football ground and shouted at the Greek with the machinegun:

"*Stop it ... in the north, Turkey has taken thousands of prisoners... if you kill these people…*" and took the gun from him…

We had returned from the edge of death … but those in Muratağa, Sandallar, Atlılar and some other places were not as lucky as we were.

After those terrible moments, they picked out the policemen and the leaders and took us to a military camp where we met another 600 Turks taken from different villages.

We were put into barracks and ordered to lie on our backs with our hands crossed behind our heads and not to move at all. Otherwise we would be shot.

In the night, with the lights off, many of us were given a severe beating in the darkness.

After two days, a bulldozer started to dig a huge grave in the field behind our dormitory. The Greek soldiers guarding us were whispering that the grave was being prepared for us.

But thank God, Turkey's Peace Operation was successful and this saved our lives once again.

We were about 60 in a dormitory and two armed Greeks as guard.

Day and night we were ordered to lie on our backs and not to move, other wise we will be shot.

The nights, usually after midnight when we were sleeping they used to throw large stones on the floor under our beds, making us wake up in fear as we did not know what happend.

Sometimes they were speaking purposely outside of the dormitory so that we could listen them. They pretended they were preparing to murder some of us on that night.

A bowl put at the corner of dormitory was used for our toilet needs.

Once a day we were taken out to wash and for our toilet needs. We were about 60 people in our dormitory. There were only 8 toilets available and we were given only 10 minutes. So every one had about one minute for toilet and washing. There were about 30 meters between the toilets and the washing place so everybody had to stay about 30 seconds in the toilet then run to wash. For many days we used ordinary soil from the ground near the washing place, to clean the sticky stuff in our plastic plates for we had neither soap nor detergent. In ten minutes we all had to be ready. Those who were late after the whistle used to have a beating and had to wash the toilets at gun point.

We spent 42 days in that camp, waiting to be killed everyday. I need pages and pages to be able to put down my horrible experiences about the days we spent in that camp. Maybe in another book…

After 42 horrendous days, we were told that we would be exchanged for Greek prisoners of war. The relief is impossible to explain. It felt like being born again. The exchange would take place at The Ledra Palace Hotel.

But we could not show our feelings until we were among the Turkish people behind the Ledra Palace Hotel.

Until that moment we could not believe it had happened. As soon as

we stepped on the Turkish side in Nicosia, we knew it was true and that we had started living again.

Since the Exchange of Population Agreement in 1975, we have all been in the North with our families and friends. We listened to the bitter stories of other Turkish people from different parts of the island; and the stories of mass graves. Each story was more horrific than the one before. Once again, we prayed to God that Turkey saved us. We did not even dare to think of the result, had Turkey not intervened…

For 27 years now, we are free and safe; no fighting, no bitterness, no fears…

We are happy in our State… and we certainly would be prepared to live side by side with the Greeks, in our two different states, as friends, even after all that has gone by, but never together.

And before I finish, I would once again repeat what I have written in the first few pages.

We have experienced the ill faith of the Greeks time and time again in the past and the world has witnessed all.

We suffered from and fought againts terrorizm and brutal attacks of the Greeks for many years. Many of the Turkish Cypriots returned from the edges of mass-graves.

There has been peace in Cyprus for 27 years now. The bitter days are far behind.

It makes me wonder why the world is still insisting and trying to force us to risk our future, and the future of our children, just to see whether the Greeks will act in the same manner again or not…

The whole thing is very strange: Is this a game we are playing?

Must the game be repeated until the Turks are wiped out.

THE AKRITAS PLAN

Appendix 1

THE AKRITAS ORGANISATION

On 19th February 1959, The Zurich and London Agreements were signed and the road to the Republic of Cyprus was opened. On 16th August 1960 this new Republic was established. The Greek Cypriot Leader Makarios was elected President and The Turkish Cypriot Leader Dr. Fazıl Küçük was elected Vice-President.

According to the Constitution 7 Greeks and 3 Turks would be Ministers. As one of the Greek Ministers Makarios chose Polykarpos Yeorgadjis and he became Minister of Interior. He was the EOKA Area chief for Nicosia. Makarios also directed Yeorgadjis to form a Secret para-military Organisation. The code name "AKRITAS" was chosen and Yeorgadjis became "Chief AKRITAS". For this Organisation he picked ex-EOKA men loyal to Makarios and ENOSIS. All party leaders were authorized to form their own militia and they all did. Thus Makarios through his Minister of Interior had become the Commander-in-Chief of a secret army with the aim of destroying "the shackles" on Enosis, which the 1960 Agreement had outlawed.

Chief AKRITAS (Yeorgadjis) set to work in earnest. The President of the House of Representatives Glafkos Clerides, the Minister of Labour Tassos Papadopoulos and Yeorgadjis were the masterminds of this Organisation. Most top ranking Greek Cypriot officials of the Government were its members and supporters. According to Mr. Glafkos Clerides, the Organisation started with 500 members all well armed ex-EOKA fighters. Towards the end of 1963 this number rose to 1,800. The arms for this Organisation came from the arms depot of the Cyprus Army and the Police and Gendarmerie Forces, the Greek Cypriot members of which were now working with the Organisation under the same leader, the Minister of Interior Mr. Yeorgadjis. With the addition of Greek Contingent and its armoury and the arrival of 20,000 troops from Greece Turkish Cypriots faced a formidable force. Arms came from Greece and Egypt and some was bought from Czechoslo-

vakia and other neighbouring countries. Most of the arms were under the direct control of Makarios. The training of the members was undertaken by the Greek Mainland Regiment in Cyprus. The leadership was trained in Greece as from the signing of the London Agreement in 1959. EOKA had cast off its uniform and was ostensibly converted into a non-combatant organisation called EDMA whose first task was to give scholarships in Greece, to young EDMA members in military training and education. The AKRITAS organisation started planning a different future for Cyprus. Apart from military plans a general plan for the extermination of Turkish Cypriots was prepared. This top secret plan, with the name of 'AKRITAS PLAN', was first published in the Greek Cypriot newspaper PATRIS on 21st April 1967, three years after it had been fully and mercilessly implemented and at a time when all Greek Cypriot leaders believed that what they had achieved in Cyprus was irreversible. Indeed Makarios was jubilant in announcing that Cyprus was now Greece... The House of Representatives now composed of 100% Greek Cypriots, had already passed a resolution on ENOSIS. Nothing else could be the "national aim".

Although both Yeorgadjis and Makarios are dead, this same plan, with certain improvisations, is still being implemented by the Greek Cypriot Leadership.

TOP SECRET
FROM HEADQUARTERS
RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

The recent public statements of the Archbishop have prescribed the course, which our national issue will follow in the immediate future. As we have stressed in the past, national struggles are neither judged nor solved from day to day, nor is it always possible to fix definite time limits for the achievement of the various stages of their development. Our national cause must always be judged in the light of the conditions and developments of the moment; the measures which will be taken, the tactics and the time of implementing each measure is determined by the conditions existing at the time, both internationally, and internally. The entire effort is trying and must pass through various stages, because the factors, which influence the final result, are many and varied. It must be understood by everyone that each measure taken is the result of continuous studies and, in the meantime, forms the basis for future measures. It must be recognized that the measures, which are prescribed, now constitute only the first step, one simple stage towards the final and unalterable national objective, to the full and unfettered exercise of the right of self-determination of the people.

Since the purpose remains unalterable, what remains to be examined is the subject of tactics. This must necessarily be separated as internal and external (international), since in each case both the handling and the presentation of our cause will be different.

A. EXTERNAL TACTICS (INTERNATIONAL)

During the recent stages of our national struggle the Cyprus problem has been presented to world public opinion and diplomatic circles as a demand for the exercise of the right of self-determination of the people of Cyprus. In the exercise of this right, the subject of the Turkish minority was introduced under the well-known conditions and with the argument of violent intercommunal clashes, it had been tried to make it accepted that co-existence of the two communities under a united

administration was impossible. Finally, for many international circles the problem was solved by the London and Zurich Agreements, a solution that was presented as the result of negotiations and agreement between the contending parties.

a) Consequently, our first target has been to cultivate internationally the impression that the Cyprus problem has not really been solved and the solution requires revision.

b) First objective was our endeavour to be vindicated as the Greek majority and to create the impression that:
   (i) The solution given is neither satisfactory nor fair;
   (ii) The agreement reached was not the result of a free and voluntary acceptance of a compromise of the conflicting views;
   (iii) The revision of the agreements constitutes a compelling necessity for survival, and not an effort of the Greeks to repudiate their signature;
   (iv) The co-existence of the two communities is possible, and
   (v) The strong element on which foreign states ought to rely is the Greek majority and not the Turks.

c) All the above which required very difficult effort, have been achieved to a satisfactory degree. Most of the diplomatic representatives are already convinced that the solution given was neither fair nor satisfactory; that it was signed under pressure and without real negotiations and that it was imposed under various threats. The fact that the solution has not been ratified by the people, is a significant argument in this connection, because our leadership, acting wisely, avoided calling the people to give its official approval to the agreement by a plebiscite or otherwise, which the people, in the 1959 spirit, would have definitely approved. Generally, it has been established that the administration of Cyprus up to now has been carried out by the Greeks and that the Turks was confined to a negative role and acted as a brake.

d) Second objective. The first stage having been completed, we must

programme the second stage of our activities and objectives on the international field. In general terms, these objectives can be outlined as follows:

(i) The efforts of the Greeks are to remove unreasonable and unfair provisions of the administration and not to oppress the Turks;

(ii) The removal of these factors of the administration must take place today because tomorrow will be too late.

(iii) The removal of these provisions of the administration, although it is reasonable and necessary, is not possible because of the unreasonable attitude of the Turks and therefore, since it is not possible by agreement with the Turks, unilateral action is justified;

(iv) The issue of revision is an internal affair of the Cypriots and does not give the right of intervention, by force or otherwise, to anyone;

(v) The proposed amendments are reasonable, just, and safeguard the reasonable rights of the minority.

e) It has been generally proven that today the international climate is against every type of oppression and especially the oppression of minorities. The Turks have already succeeded in persuading international opinion that union of Cyprus with Greece amounts to an attempt to enslave them. Further, it is judged that we have greater possibilities of succeeding in our efforts to influence international public opinion in our favour if we present our demand, as we did during the struggle, as a demand for exercising the right of self-determination, rather than as a demand for Enosis. However, in order to secure the right to exercise complete and free self-determination, first of all, we must get rid of all those provisions of the Constitution and of the Agreements (Treaty of Guarantee, Treaty of Alliance etc) which obstruct the free and unfettered expression and implementation of the wishes of our people and which may open the way to dangers of external intervention. It is exactly for this reason that the first target of attack has been the Treaty of

Guarantee, which was the first that was stated to be no longer recognised by the Greek Cypriots.

When this is achieved no power, legal or moral, can stop us from deciding our future alone and freely and exercising the right of self-determination by a plebiscite.

From the above, the conclusion can be drawn that for the success of our plan a chain of actions and developments is needed, each of which is a necessity and a must; otherwise, future actions will remain legally unjustified and politically unattainable, while at the same time we will expose the people and the country to serious consequences. The actions to be taken can be classified under the following headings:

a) Amendment of the negative elements of the Agreements and parallel abandonment in practice of the Treaties of Guarantee and Alliance. This step is necessary because the need for amendments of the negative aspects of the treaties is generally accepted internationally and is considered justified (we can even justify unilateral action), while at the same time external intervention to prevent us amending them is held unjustified and inapplicable;

b) After the above actions, the Treaty of Guarantee (the right of intervention) becomes legally and substantially inapplicable;

c) Once Cyprus is not bound by the restrictions (of the Treaties of Guarantee and Alliance) regarding the exercise of the right of self-determination, the people will be free to give expression to and implement their desire.

d) Legal confrontation by the forces of State (police and even friendly military forces) of every internal or external intervention because then we shall be completely independent.

Therefore the actions from (a) to (d) are absolutely necessary and must be carried out in the above order and in time.

It is therefore obvious that if we hope to have any possibility of success internationally in our above actions, we cannot and must not reveal or declare the various stages of the struggle before the previous one is completed. For instance, if it is accepted that the above four stages are the necessary course, then it is unthinkable to speak of amend-

ments (stage (a)) if stage (d) is revealed. How can it be possible to aim at the amendment of the negative aspects by arguing that this is necessary for the functioning of the State and the Agreements?

The above relate to targets, aims and tactics in the international field. And now on the internal front:

B. INTERNAL FRONT

The internal actions are judged by the interpretations that will be given to them internationally and by the effects that our actions will have on our national cause.

1. The only danger, which could be described as insurmountable, is the possibility of external intervention. Not so much because of material damage, nor because of the danger itself (which, in the last analysis, it is possible for us to deal with partly or totally by force), but mainly because of the possible political consequences. If intervention is threatened or implemented before stage (c), then such intervention would be legally debatable, if not justified. This fact has a lot of weight both internationally and in the United Nations. From the history of many recent instances we have learnt that in not a single case of intervention, even when legally unjustified, has either the United Nations or any other power succeeded in evicting the attacker without serious concessions detrimental to the victim. Even in the case of the Israeli attack against Suez, which was condemned by almost all nations and on which Soviet intervention was threatened, Israel withdrew, but received (kept) the port of Eilat on the Red Sea as a concession. Naturally, much more serious dangers exist for Cyprus.

   But if we consider and justify our actions under (a) above well, on the one hand the intervention will not be justified and, on the other, we will have every support from the beginning, since by the Treaty of Guarantee, intervention cannot take place before consultations between the Guarantor Powers, which is Britain, Greece and Turkey. It is at this stage of consultations (before intervention) that we need international support. We shall have it if the amendments

proposed by us appear reasonable and justifiable.

Hence, the first objective is to avoid intervention by the choice of the amendments we would propose in the first stage.

Tactics: Reasonable Constitutional amendments after efforts for common understanding with the Turks are exhausted. Since common agreement is impossible we shall try to justify unilateral action. At this stage the provisions in (ii) and (iii) of page 21 are applicable in parallel.

2. It is obvious that for intervention to be justified, more serious reasons and a more immediate danger must exist than mere constitutional amendments.

   Such reasons could be (a) an immediate declaration of Enosis before stages (a) - (c), (b) serious inter-communal violence that would be presented as massacre of the Turks.

   Reason (a) has already been dealt with in the first part and, consequently, only the danger of inter-communal violence remains to be considered. Since we do not intend, without provocation, to massacre or attack Turks, the possibility remains that the Turks, as soon as we proceed to the unilateral amendment of any article of the constitution, will react instinctively, creating incidents and clashes or stage, spurious killings, atrocities or bomb attacks on Turks, in order to create the impression that the Greeks have indeed attacked the Turks, in which case intervention would be imperative, for their protection.

   Tactics: Our actions for constitutional amendments will be open and we will always appear ready for peaceful talks. Our actions will not be of a provocative or violent nature. Any incidents that may take place will be met, at the beginning, in a legal fashion by the legal Security Forces, according to the plan. All actions will be clothed in legal form.

3. Before the right of unilateral amendments of the constitution is established and is accepted, decisions and actions, which require positive violent acts from us, such as the unification of municipali-

ties, must be avoided. Such a decision compels the Government to intervene by force to bring about the unification and seizure of municipal properties, which will probably compel the Turks to react forcefully. Therefore it is easier for us, using legal methods, to amend, for instance, the provision of the 70 to 30 ratio, when it is the Turks who will have to take positive violent action, while for us this procedure will not amount to action, but a refusal to act. The same applies to the issue of the separate majorities with regards to taxation legislation. These measures have already been studied and a series of similar measures have been decided for implementation. Once our right of unilateral amendments to the constitution is established de facto by some such actions, then we shall be able to advance using our judgment and our strength more forcefully.

4. It is, however, naive to believe that it is possible to proceed to substantive acts of amendment of the constitution, as a first step of our general plan, as has been described above, without the Turks attempting to create or to stage violent clashes. Exactly for this reason, the existence and strengthening of our Organisation is imperative because:

   a) In the event of spontaneous Turkish reactions, if our counter-attacks are not immediate, we run the risk of having panic created among Greeks, particularly in the towns, and thus we run the danger of losing substantial vital areas irreparably, while on the other hand an immediate and timely show of our strength may bring the Turks to their senses and confine their actions to insignificant, isolated acts, and

   b) In the event of a planned or spurious attack of the Turks, staged or not, it is imperative to overcome it by force in the shortest possible time, because if we succeed in gaining command of the situation in one or two days, no outside intervention would be possible, probable or justifiable.

   c) In all the above cases, the forceful and decisive confrontation of any Turkish effort will greatly facilitate our subsequent

actions for further Constitutional amendments. It would then be possible for unilateral amendments to be made, without any Turkish reaction, because they will know that their reaction will be impossible or seriously harmful for their community, and

   d) In the event of the clashes becoming widespread and general we must be ready to proceed immediately with the actions described in (a) to (d), including the immediate declaration of Enosis, because then there would be no reason to neither wait nor room for diplomatic action.

5. At all these stages we should not overlook the factor of propaganda, and to counter the propaganda of those who do not know or cannot be expected to know our plans, as well as of the reactionary elements. It has been shown that our struggle must pass through at least four stages and that we must not reveal our plans and intentions publicly and prematurely. Complete discretion and secrecy is more than a national duty. IT IS A VITAL NECESSITY FOR SURVIVAL AND SUCCESS.

This will not deter the reactionaries and the irresponsible demagogues from indulging in an orgy of exploitation of patriotism and provocations. The plan provides them with fertile ground, because it gives them the opportunity to allege that the efforts of the leadership are confined to the objective of constitutional amendments and not to pure national objectives. Our task becomes more difficult because by necessity, and depending on the prevailing circumstances, even the constitutional amendments must be made in stages. However, all this must not draw us into irresponsible demagogy, street politics or bidding higher in the stakes of nationalism. Our acts will be our most truthful defenders. In any event, because the above task must make substantial progress and yield results long before the next elections, in the relatively short time in between we must show self-restraint and remain cool, for obvious reasons. At the same time, however, we must not only maintain the present unity and discipline of the patriotic forces, but also increase it. We can only achieve this by the necessary briefing of our members and

through them of our people.

Before everything else we have to expose the true identities of the reactionaries. They are petty and irresponsible demagogues and opportunists, as their recent past has shown. They are negative and aimless reactionaries who fanatically oppose our leadership, but at the same time without offering a substantive and practical solution of their own. In order to promote all our actions we need a steady and strong government until the last moment. These are known as verbalists and sloganists, with pretty words and slogans, but they are unable and unwilling to proceed to concrete acts or to suffer sacrifices. For example, even at the present stage they offer nothing more concrete than recourse to the United Nations, that is, words again without cost to themselves. They must, therefore, be alienated and isolated.

In parallel and at the same time, we shall brief our members about the above plan and intentions, but ONLY VERBALLY. Our Sub-headquarters must, in gatherings of our members, analyse and explain fully and continuously the above, until each one of our members understands fully and is in a position to brief others. NO WRITTEN REPORT IS PERMITTED. THE LOSS OR LEAKAGE OF ANY DOCUMENT ON THE ABOVE AMOUNTS TO HIGH TREASON. No act can damage our struggle as vitally and decisively as the revealing of the present document or its publication by our opponents.

With the exception of word-of-mouth briefing and guidance, all our other actions, especially publications in the press, resolutions etc, must be very restrained and no mention of the above should be made. Similarly, in public speeches and gatherings, only responsible persons may make, under the personal responsibility of the Chief of Sub-headquarters, references in general terms to the above plan. And this only after the explicit approval of the Chief of Sub-headquarters who will also control the text. Even in this case, ON NO ACCOUNT ARE REFERENCES TO THESE TEXTS IN THE PRESS OR ANY OTHER PUBLICATION ARE PERMITTED.

Tactics: All the briefing of our people and of the public BY WORD OF MOUTH. We should make every effort to appear as moderates in

public. Projection of or reference to our plans in the press or in writing is strictly prohibited. Officials and other responsible persons will continue to brief the people and to raise their morale and fighting spirit, but such briefing excludes making our plans public knowledge by the press or otherwise.

NOTE: This document will be destroyed by fire on the personal responsibility of the Chief of Regional HQ, in the presence of all the General Staff within 10 days from its receipt. Copies in full or in part are prohibited. Members of the staff of the Regional HQ may have the plan on the personal responsibility of the Chief of Regional HQ, but may not take it out of the Regional HQ.

The Chief
AKRITAS

3000 people - men, women and children - squeezed into the small Turkish quarter of Ktima...
Struggling under heavy, inhuman embargoes, fighting to survive in the face of brutal attacks.
For eleven years...
Can you imagine what it is like?

I was born in Ktima.
So were my parents; and their parents and theirs'...
For 27 years now I have been living in Northern Cyprus, safe and in peace. But it is not passible for me to forget the last eleven years I spent in Ktima.
I never want to go back to those days again, and it is a great forment to be living with the probability of re-living those days.

Thanks to Turkey who ended that tragedy forever.